

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Meaning of Podgorny, Kissinger trips

Hanoi pressured to abandon struggle

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 20—Washington, Moscow, and Peking are mounting tremendous pressure on Hanoi to go to the bargaining table and make concessions to President Nixon. This was the purpose of Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny's June 16-18 trip to Hanoi, which was accompanied by a three-day suspension of U.S. bombing of Hanoi. It is also the purpose of presidential adviser Henry Kissinger's talks with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai scheduled to take place in Peking, June 19-22.

To back up the intense diplomatic pressure, Washington is maintaining the highest levels of air attack on Vietnam in the history of the war. Nixon has almost completely succeeded in blocking off North Vietnam from outside military and economic support.

See page 5 for North Vietnamese and Cuban response to Nixon's trip to Moscow.

Moscow's failure to mount any effective opposition to Nixon's escalated attack and its willingness to put the screws on Hanoi to enter into negotiations are causing an outburst of fury against the leaders of the Soviet Union. Evidence is the hue and cry raised in defense of Moscow in the pages of the *Daily World*, voice of the U.S. Communist Party.

"The Moscow summit meeting was a victory for the peoples of the world," intone the editors of the *World*, June 10.

"Did the summit, in any way, harm the cause of the struggle for liberation of Indochina?" they ask. "The answer is No. In fact, it aided that struggle. It weakened the position of the man who mined the harbors of North Vietnam." But it is obvious to almost everyone that President Nixon's position has been strengthened, not weakened, since he left Moscow three weeks ago.

North Vietnam's rivers and harbors remain mined and the rail routes to China are being bombed daily to cut the country off. Electronic devices guide thousands of tons of U.S. bombs to power plants, major population centers, and other targets throughout North Vietnam, including the dikes of the Red River delta.

In South Vietnam, U.S. air forces are pounding towns and villages to rubble. Tens of thousands of refugees are in flight in the countryside. A wire-service photo of a Vietnamese youngster weeping over the body of her shell-shocked mother captured the utter horror that Nixon has unleashed without check by Moscow or Peking.

Podgorny himself announced on a stopover in Calcutta after leaving Hanoi June 18 that the Paris peace talks would resume soon and that the "Soviet Union will do everything possible for a deescalation of the Vietnam war." Victor Louis, a Soviet journalist who often reflects official Kremlin views, wrote in *The London Evening News* June 16 that Pod-

gorny's visit was "aimed at stopping hostilities on all fronts so that new negotiations can get under way."

Moscow radio has proclaimed that "The war of aggression in Vietnam can be ended only through negotiations," according to *New York Times* editor Robert

Vietnam, can be opened before the elections in November.

Robert Kleiman summarized Moscow and Peking's response to the blockade of North Vietnam in the June 19 article "... six weeks after the mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors, Moscow and Peking



An international conference to discuss a settlement in Vietnam was in the air as Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny (r.) and Nixon's top adviser, Henry Kissinger, journeyed to Hanoi and Peking, respectively.

Kleiman. The radio added that "practical experience clearly shows that the Vietnam problem cannot be solved by military means," Kleiman stated in the June 19 *Times*.

All of this points towards Soviet pressure on Hanoi to agree to a Geneva-type conference to settle the war. Nixon obviously hopes that such a conference, which would leave Washington a foothold in

evidently have been unable as yet to agree on increased land shipment across China of Soviet aid to compensate for the halt in sea supply. Before the blockade, 85 per cent of North Vietnam's imports came by sea.

"Of all the Soviet ships en route to North Vietnam when the blockade was imposed, only one tanker has put into a Chinese port, and

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CHOU PRESCRIBES KOREA-TYPE SETTLEMENT FOR INDOCHINA: According to an article in the June 17 New York Times, written from Peking by Harrison Salisbury, Chou En-lai "cited former President Dwight D. Eisenhower's conduct in the Korean war as a good example for Washington to follow in ending the Vietnam war."

The Chinese premier repeated his previous self-criticism concerning the 1954 Geneva Accords. As before, he did not criticize the essence of the 1954 sell-out agreement but the fact that the U.S. was not made a signatory. "We were greatly taken in at that time," Salisbury quotes Chou as saying. "That was my first experience in international conferences."

Salisbury concludes with the interpretation that "The Premier's clear implication was that China would never be party to another accord that might divide Vietnam or that might be subject to violation by (the) United States." It all depends on what one means by "be party to." Chou may well have been indicating that Peking wishes no open role in a new Geneva, but his citing of the Korean "peace" agreement—based on continuing U.S. occupation—certainly points to an "accord that might divide Vietnam."

INDOCHINA LIBERATION FIGHTERS ON TOUR OF CANADA: The Canadian revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge* reported in its June 19 issue the tour of Huynh Van Ba from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and Tran Viet Thanh, a Vietnamese trade unionist.

Van Ba spoke June 12 to more than 500 people in Toronto. The Canadian Communist Party, which played a prominent role in organizing the meeting, tried to exclude the Vietnam Mobilization Committee from participation.

After Van Ba spoke about the Vietnamese struggle, the meeting's organizers presented a motion favoring a 'negotiated settlement' in Vietnam. But VMC activist George Addison moved to the podium. After a 2-to-1 vote to let him speak, he presented an amendment to the proposal demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel. The amendment also stipulated support for worldwide mass actions to defend Vietnam's right to self-determination. The amendment carried overwhelmingly.

The chairman of the meeting apologized for excluding the VMC in organizing the meeting.



Huynh Van Ba (at left) met with Linda Jenness (at right) and other Young Socialists in Havana, Cuba, in January 1969. Van Ba is presently touring Canada as a representative of the PRG of South Vietnam.

'WRETCHED PEDDLERS': The sectarianism of the Canadian Communist Party exemplified by its action described in the above item is typical of the behavior of CPs around the world, including here in the U.S. Its attraction for "negotiated settlements" is likewise typical. In light of this, an article by Erik Bert in the June 20 *Daily World* deserves comment.

Entitled "To a liberal peddler of anti-Soviet deceit," Bert's article takes I.F. Stone to task for an article by Stone published in the June 15 *New York Review of Books*. Stone's article cut to the heart of Nixon's China trip and the Moscow summit: "But without the enormous resolution and courage of the Vietnamese, what would Moscow and Peking have to offer Nixon, what would they have to sell?"

Bert attacks Stone in a frenzy. Stone's view, Bert writes, "is shared only by the wretched peddlers of Trotskyism in its varied assortment." We can't tell which Bert thinks is worse, but he also accuses Stone of peddling "CIA perfidy as legitimate currency."

The consequence of Stone's "Trotskyism" and "anti-Soviet espionage," Bert tells us, "is necessarily, so far as Stone is successful, rupturing the world front supporting the Vietnamese people. . . ."

We ask Bert: What world front? It is precisely Moscow's failure to form such a front that lays bare its hostility to revolution.

WIREDAPS: The Supreme Court, in an 8-to-0 decision handed down June 19, held that court orders are required for electronic surveillance of "domestic radicals." The Nixon administration had contended that wiretapping without a court order was permitted under the Fourth Amendment and the 1968 Safe Streets Act. The court's decision left aside the 1968 law's constitutionality and the question of whether a court order is needed for tapping "foreign powers or their agents."

CANADIAN AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY ORGANIZER THREATENED WITH DEPORTATION: The June 19 *Labor Challenge* reports that the Canadian government has revived its attempt to deport Roosevelt Douglas. Douglas, a leading figure in the Canadian Black student movement, is currently awaiting a court decision on his appeal of a conviction for "obstructing the use of private property." The conviction stemmed from his role in a student protest at Sir George Williams University in 1969.

"If he is deported and still loses the appeal," *Labor Challenge* comments, "he stands to forfeit the \$14,000 bail—clearly an outrageous form of harassment."



Roosevelt Douglas

'RIGHT ON! HIGHWAY ONE! PICK UP ON GEORGE AND PUT DOWN THE GUN!' This is a suggested new chant for some of our erstwhile ultraleft friends that came to us as we read from the following item by Arthur Maglin:

"The *Liberated Guardian* was formed in April 1970. Since that time this paper has carried articles of a pronounced ultraleft character, including such items as Weather underground communiques.

"Marxists have long argued that ultraleftism is just liberalism throwing a tantrum. Proving the correctness of this point, the June *Liberated Guardian* jumps on the McGovern bandwagon."

Maglin quotes from the article in which the *Liberated Guardian* capitulates to the election-year pressure: "While in the short term we hope for a McGovern victory to bring a quicker end to the Indochina War, we also know that, win or lose, McGovern does not offer long term solutions to any of the problems we face."

STATE WITNESSES CAN'T AGREE IN FELICIANO TRIAL: The June 18 *Claridad*, Puerto Rican pro-independence paper, carries an article headlined "State's case against Feliciano crumbles." It details the contradictions in the testimony of prosecution witnesses in the New York frame-up trial of Puerto Rican militant Carlos Feliciano.

While a detective testified that he had seen a "bomb" (concealed in a loaf of bread) in the trunk of Feliciano's car from 30 feet away, a patrolman maintained it was impossible to see it from that distance. A second detective also disagreed with the first on details concerning the alleged "bomb."

The same issue of *Claridad* reports that 500 people participated in a June 10 demonstration organized by the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano. The demonstration demanded freedom for Feliciano and for all political prisoners. The demonstrators marched through New York's South Bronx to the Plaza Borinquen. Speakers at the rally included Feliciano and Richie Beltram. Beltram, a member of the Young Lords, also faces frame-up charges for his political activity.

CLARIDAD ON BADILLO AND RAMOS: *Claridad* reflects the views of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (formerly Movimiento Pro-Independencia—MPI). In an editorial in its June 18 issue, *Claridad* took the following stand on the Democratic primary race between Congressman Herman Badillo and challenger Manuel Ramos:

"Despite their differences, Badillo and Ramos have one thing in common. They are representatives of the ruling class of this country. They are elected through the Democratic Party machine, and all of its money, influence and press machinery. Poor people have nothing to do with that Party and it has nothing to offer us."

—LEE SMITH

U.S. bombings stave off Saigon defeat

By ED SMITH

JUNE 21—The map on this page shows six provinces in South Vietnam that U.S. authorities admit they haven't pacified. They stretch along the coastal plain from Binhdinh Province on the central coast through Da-nang, Vietnam's second largest city, to Hue and the border of Quangtri Province.

"In all six of the affected provinces," wrote *New York Times* reporter Craig R. Whitney June 21, "the Government has lost control of significant areas. The most spectacular setback was in Binhdinh, where a lack of South Vietnamese resistance to a Communist drive in late April led to the loss of the northern districts with a population of 200,000."

The Saigon regime's inability to control these areas is not just a result of the revolutionary offensive launched in March. "Both Binhdinh and Quangngai were under solid Vietminh control before the French defeat in 1954," according to Whitney. "... many of the province's 731,000 people have been sympathizers of the Communists for years.

"Most of the Communist force in Quangngai is composed not of North Vietnamese invaders but of local guerrillas, known to the inhabitants and often related to them. . . ." Thus 18 years of counterrevolution, which is probably longer than the lifetimes of many of the guerrillas fighting in the provinces, has failed to convince the populace of the "advantages" of rule by the landlord-militarist clique in Saigon.

There is considerable irony in Whitney's observation that "Some experienced American advisers say that the only possible 'pacification' of the Vietnamese countryside is military occupation of it, a concept that may ex-

plain why the Government lost so much here after withdrawing its main force farther north."

In fact, military occupation of the region has been the objective of the imperialists for more than a decade. In the same article Whitney says that a "senior pacification adviser in Da-nang" told him Quangngai "is the most depressing province. That province has had more attention from more people for more years and still it is on the ragged edge, and you don't know who it really belongs to. Whole American divisions have operated there for years."

Whole American divisions! In other words, search and destroy campaigns, clearing operations that carried out the "scorched earth" of pacification to its most logical conclusion, burning villages to the ground and moving the occupants who survived the flamethrowers to refugee camps. Quangngai Province should ring a bell. That's where Mylai is. The region today is controlled by revolutionaries.

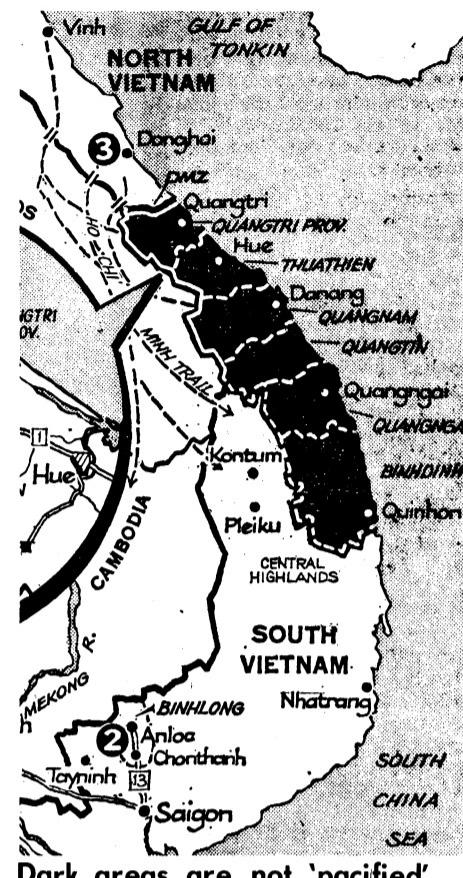
While U.S. bombing at the most intense levels of the war appears to have prevented Saigon's collapse, the Saigon army (ARVN) has been deeply shaken. *Los Angeles Times* reporter Jack Foisie, who has covered the Vietnam war since its early days, turned in a gloomy report on ARVN, June 11. "... the Rangers and many other army units with once illustrious records seem to have lost much of their fighting spirit. South Vietnam is war-weary, and there is no end in sight to the combat," Foisie states.

"There appears a desire on the part of all ARVN commanders to avoid casualties. While there have been counterattacks, they have been small-scale, and little ground has been re-taken. . . .

"With three enemy fronts to combat,

and with formerly pacified areas now showing signs of a Hanoi-directed Viet Cong resurgence, President Thieu's regular army units are spread thin. . . .

"One ARVN division and parts of



Dark areas are not 'pacified'

two others, all based in Saigon's rice-bowl delta, have been shifted to fighting fronts. The absence of regular units has caused a deterioration in the government's hold on the heavily populated food-producing area.

"The distressed condition of ARVN is most evident in its combat units. Many are at half-strength or below.

This is due to the continuing problem of widespread desertions, another reflection of war-weariness. To build back the army to its programmed strength requires conscription. Stern laws are on the books. But in actual practice there are still loopholes, and the evasive gimmicks work when money is put into the right hands."

In Saigon, *Los Angeles Times* staff writer George McArthur reported the stiffening of police rule under the impact of the revolutionary offensive. "... the nervous Saigon government's internal security forces have rounded up untold numbers of deserters, broken at least one top-level terrorist network and, more controversially, quietly jailed 5,000 or more suspects who can only be viewed as political prisoners," McArthur wrote June 13.

"The number can only be estimated since many suspects are being held at provincial or district levels and reports may or may not be passed upward through the bureaucracy. Some are being held in provincial jails, others in newly constructed camps and some have been taken to the island of Phu Quoc, where war prisoners also are held."

The shakiness of the regime explains why Nixon is quietly ending the U.S. troop reduction in South Vietnam and shifting American forces to Thailand. "To cut U.S. troop strength in Vietnam to the 49,000-man level ordered by President Nixon for July 1," Associated Press reported from Washington June 11, "several Air Force and Marine fighter units will be shifted to Thailand. . . .

"Although this will have the effect of removing several thousand airmen and support personnel from Vietnam, they still will be able to carry out air strikes from their new bases."

Broad forces back nat'l peace convention

LOS ANGELES, June 20—Plans for continued antiwar actions will be discussed at the July 21-23 National Antiwar Conference to be held at the UCLA campus in Los Angeles. The conference will be hosted by the National Peace Action Coalition. It is open to all groups and individuals opposed to the Indochina war.

Local antiwar coalitions across the country are publicizing the conference to ensure the broadest and largest possible attendance. They are pointing to Nixon's increased bombing of Indochina and the naval blockade of North Vietnam as evidence of the continued U.S. attempt to win a military victory in Vietnam.

NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon recently completed a tour of Southern

and Northern California, speaking to antiwar organizations and meeting with antiwar leaders. Among the California sponsors of the conference are Raoul Teihet, president of the California Federation of Teachers; Art Carter, president of the Contra Costa County Labor Council; and Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party.

Other endorsers include Steve Halpern, student body president of UCLA; Mike Gold of the national McGovern staff; Toni Kimmel of the National Women's Political Caucus; Ruth Ehrlich, Women's Caucus of the California Democratic Council; Morris Kight, gay liberation activist; and Dalton Trumbo, writer.

The Student Legislative Council

(SLC) of UCLA also voted to sponsor the conference and provide facilities for it. However, according to Stu Singer of the West Coast NPAC office, both the SLC and NPAC-West recently

The National Peace Action Coalition has announced that its next national steering committee meeting will be held July 8 in Los Angeles. The meeting had previously been scheduled for July 1 in Philadelphia.

received indications that UCLA Chancellor Charles Young intended to cancel facilities for the antiwar conference by convening an administration-controlled facilities commission.

Within days of this move, Young was inundated with protests from congressmen, California state legislators, and prominent individuals. When the facilities commission met in executive session on June 20, the pressure and attention had mounted. Young was forced to announce to the waiting press that the UCLA administration would not interfere with the right of the antiwar conference to meet.

Information on the National Antiwar Conference is available from the NPAC national office, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 (Telephone: 212-741-2018) or from the NPAC-West office, 111 N. Vermont, Los Angeles, Calif. 90004 (Telephone: 213-487-3535).

Activists publicize national abortion meeting

NEW YORK—With three weeks remaining before the Third Women's National Abortion Action Conference, 11,000 leaflets have already been distributed in the New York area to publicize the gathering. Called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), the conference is scheduled for New York on July 15-16.

Discussion at the conference will center on plans for further activities in the campaign to repeal all anti-abortion and contraception laws and to end forced sterilization. The offensive being waged by the Catholic Church hierarchy and anti-abortion groups against women's right to abortion

makes such a conference especially important at this time.

WONAAC activists reported an enthusiastic response to the conference at literature tables set up in the streets of New York on Saturday, June 17. More than 200 women signed up to receive more information about the conference and WONAAC activities. Button sales and donations totaled \$80 and another \$40 was collected from sales and donations at the June 14 Madison Square Garden rally for Democratic presidential contender George McGovern.

The WONAAC national office is sending one staff member on a tour of Long Island, Connecticut, and

northern New Jersey to publicize the conference. Just recently, a WONAAC chapter was formed in New Jersey.

Preconference issues of the *WONAAC Newsletter* will carry discussion articles on strategies for continuing the abortion fight and on various aspects of building WONAAC.

The conference is open to all women who support the abortion law repeal movement. Conference sessions will take place at Hunter College. Registration is \$3. Housing and child-care facilities are available. For more information, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

Response of North Vietnam and Cuba to Nixon's escalation and Moscow summit

Hanoi: 'We must not recoil in the face of imperialist threats'

Despite intense pressure from the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese liberation fighters have refused to back down in the face of Nixon's blockade and all-out bombing campaign. In response to Nixon's blockade and trip to Moscow, the Vietnamese have refused to accept the Soviet bureaucrats' urgings to stop their struggle and negotiate on the terms of the U.S. imperialists.

Nhan Dan, the organ of the North Vietnamese Communist Party, published a sharp criticism of some of President Nixon's pronouncements during his recent trip to the Soviet Union. The criticism was signed "commentator," the designation used for semiofficial statements.

"At no time does the newspaper point out that the statements of the American chief executive were made in the USSR," noted Agence France-Presse, "but the precision of the quotes leaves no room for doubt."

The article referred, for instance, to Nixon's hypocritical commiseration with the children who died during the Nazi siege of Leningrad. The commentator, in an unmistakable message to the Kremlin bureaucrats who were wining and dining America's number one war criminal, wrote:

"It is obvious that in order for the children of the world to be able to avoid being massacred and to live in peace, the adults will have to oppose the American imperialists and not recoil in the face of their threats. All men of conscience must distinguish between what is reasonable and what is absurd, between what is good and what is evil, between friends and enemies."

"During a banquet, Nixon bragged that he would like to create a world of peace for all peoples," the newspaper observed, adding that "the president's fine words are being drowned out by the noise of the American bombs that day and night are plunging the Vietnamese homeland into mourning."

After noting that "Nixon says that the great powers must set an example and not let themselves be drawn into confrontations provoked by small powers," the commentator asks: "Does he want the great powers to follow the example being set by the United States in Vietnam? He threatens other countries so that they will let the United States have its way, and he denies them the right to support the victims of aggression. This kind of talk is coming from an international hooligan."

Another North Vietnamese statement was reported by syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in the June 14 *New York Post*. According to Evans and Novak, the North Vietnamese "accused the Soviet Union of putting its own 'national interests' over those of the world revolution." They quote the following from the May 21 North Vietnamese army newspaper:

"Communists always consider the revolution of each nation an inseparable part of the world revolution. They never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution nor place private national in-

terests above the common interests of the world revolution, much less serve their own national selfishness."

The only way to answer Nixon's latest offensive in Vietnam, it says, is by "a relentless attack against the U.S. imperialists."

The refusal of the Vietnamese to give up in the face of the brutal U.S. aggression continues to inspire and set an example of struggle for all people fighting for freedom from oppression around the world. The Soviet government's denial of adequate military aid to Vietnam and its collaboration with the U.S. ruling class against the Vietnamese is a despicable betrayal of this international struggle.

Castro: 'Give a firm no! to the policy of blackmail and terror of the imperialists'

The reaction of the Cuban government to President Nixon's blockade of North Vietnam and step-up of the bombing stands in contrast to the reactionary response of the government of the Soviet Union. The Cuban government has attempted to educate its people on the aggressive character of U.S. imperialism and to mobilize Cubans in resolute opposition to Nixon's barbaric acts.

On the day Nixon arrived in Moscow for the summit meeting, the Cubans were concluding their Third Symposium Against Yankee Genocide in Vietnam and its Extension to Laos and Cambodia. Earlier, on May 15, thousands of Cubans gathered in Havana despite heavy rain for a rally condemning "the new criminal actions of Yankee imperialism" against Vietnam. The demonstration was organized by the Cuban Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam.

The May 21 issue of *Granma*, organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, reported on antiwar demonstrations throughout Latin America against Nixon's escalation.

In response to Nixon's decision to bomb and mine North Vietnamese harbors, the Cuban government instructed two Cuban ships, the *Imias* and the *Jugüe*, to continue unloading their cargoes in a North Vietnamese harbor. A speech by Major Julio García Olivera printed in the same issue of *Granma* states that crew members of these two ships "have expressed their will to go on with their work, in spite of the Yankee bombings, and to take up arms, if it becomes necessary, in defense of the people of Vietnam."

A May 13 statement by the Cuban government made the following assessment of the meaning of Nixon's escalation:

"This new and adventurous step in the escalation of the war in Vietnam constitutes, without a doubt, a gross violation of the sovereignty and the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in addition to entailing a serious threat to world peace. It is an insolent challenge to the socialist countries; to the revolutionary and progressive peoples of the world; and to world public opinion, including a good part of U.S. public opinion

which is being subjected to violent repression. Mr. Nixon has not hesitated to bring the world to the brink of an international conflict whose consequences cannot be foreseen."

It continued: "The heroism of Vietnam, the political development and combat readiness of its people, and world solidarity—especially that of the socialist camp—will again frustrate Nixon's imperialistic designs."

The statement concluded by pointing out "the need for and the duty of the socialist countries, the revolutionary movements and the peoples throughout the world to reaffirm and increase their moral and material solidarity with Vietnam."

Speaking in Algiers on May 9 as part of a ten-nation tour of Africa and Eastern Europe, Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro stated in response to the escalation: "We are sure that the socialist camp will act calmly but firmly and that the revolutionary movement and public opinion all over the world will support Vietnam. Perhaps, as a result of this situation, the need for unity among revolutionary forces and the need to give a firm no! to the policy of blackmail and terror of the imperialists will be more apparent."

Castro concluded by saying, "Our people will stand firmly by the socialist camp, firmly by Vietnam and the USSR, and will support whatever line is adopted and whatever decision is made."

Despite this last unclear statement, subsequent remarks by Castro indicate that he does not support the Soviet government's line of capitulation to Nixon's aggression as expressed in its welcoming of Nixon to Moscow. At a May 26 news conference in Sofia, Bulgaria, Castro was asked whether he would meet with Nixon in Warsaw during Nixon's stopover on his return from Moscow. Castro replied: "There is nothing to talk to Nixon about. We never think about talking with Nixon about anything. What would we tell him? To stop being an imperialist? To lift the blockade of Cuba? To stop his acts of aggression?"

The June 4 *Granma* printed a speech Castro made at a mass rally in Ru-

mania. He stated: "In our country, support of Vietnam is a fundamental question. To our people, the struggle of the people of Vietnam is one of the most glorious pages of heroism in the history of our time. . . .

"We maintain a firm stand against imperialism: not a single step backward, not a single concession!"

Podgorny pushes Nixon line

New York Times reporter Hedrick Smith wrote an article from Moscow June 16 analyzing the meaning of Podgorny's trip to Hanoi. He quoted Victor Louis, a Soviet journalist thought to have close contact with Soviet intelligence, as saying Podgorny's trip was "aimed at stopping hostilities on all fronts so that new negotiations can get under way."

Louis's article, printed in the London Evening News, suggested a "cooling-off period" in which both the insurgent forces and the Saigon army would hold their present positions, with elections to follow in South Vietnam.

Smith wrote that both Louis's article "and the private comments of other well-placed Soviet sources indicated that the Kremlin was persuaded by Mr. Nixon during his talks here that he was sincere in wanting to end American involvement in Vietnam."

Smith continues, "Soviet sources indicated tonight that Mr. Podgorny had been prepared to go to Hanoi soon after President Nixon's departure from Moscow on May 29 but was delayed by stand-offishness in Hanoi."

The June 14 New York Times reported on Castro's visit to Poland. "In Gdansk, asked if Cuba would follow the lead of . . . China, the Soviet Union and Poland in inviting Mr. Nixon to Havana, Mr. Castro surprised no one when he said, 'Never.'"



The only Havana that will receive Nixon: the gusanos' "Little Havana" in Miami

This cartoon appeared in the March 12 English-language edition of *Granma*, the Cuban Communist Party newspaper. It refers to a March 5 visit by Nixon to 'Little Havana,' a stronghold of Cuban counter-revolutionaries ('gusanos,' which literally means 'worms'). It also refers to Nixon's trip to Peking in February and his planned trip to Moscow. 'Bebe' Rebozo, the worm Nixon is holding, is a millionaire friend of Nixon's who is closely linked with gusano organizations in Miami.

...meaning of Podgorny, Kissinger trips

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that briefly for emergency reasons. It now is reported to have left without unloading. . . .

"The Central Intelligence Agency has not detected any significant increase in the volume of supplies being shipped by land from China to North Vietnam. . . .

"There is no sign as yet of Chinese transport troops and repair crews in North Vietnam—50,000 came in during the 1965-68 bombing—to help keep roads and railways open."

The substance of what Kleiman reports has been indicated in previous dispatches in the world press. These have not been denied by Moscow or Peking.

Veiled polemics between Moscow and Hanoi give further evidence of the tremendous pressure Moscow is exerting on the leaders of North Vietnam. Kleiman states, "Without revealing that the American President was in Moscow, Hanoi radio and

press attacks on Mr. Nixon and his alleged efforts to split the world Communist movement have also contained thinly veiled attacks on Moscow. The Russians have been accused indirectly of setting their 'national interests against the interests of the world revolution,' of 'showing weakness' and of 'ignoring and tolerating the U.S. imperialists' crimes.'

On the Kremlin side, an authoritative article in the June 15 *Pravda* was undoubtedly aimed at Hanoi, among others. "The (summit) talks," said *Pravda*, "conducted from principled positions and with realistic tactical compromises . . . were not a sign of weakness or softness, but were necessary for all those who are guided in their actions by the real interests of peace and socialism, and not by some 'revolutionary' phrase."

According to the June 16 *Washington Post*, "The [Pravda] article also notes that the summit took place 'in spite of sometimes direct opposition from those who like to warm their

hands by the artificial kindling of hostility and tensions between other states.'

Speculation has it that the opposition to Moscow's treacherous meeting with Nixon reached into high Kremlin circles. "The Soviet opponents of the talks have not been identified," said *Times* Moscow correspondent Theodore Shabad, June 15, "but the recent demotion of Pyotr Y. Shelest, a Politburo member, from the prestigious leadership of the Ukraine has been attributed in some quarters to opposition to Mr. Nixon's visit."

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* stated on June 16 what they hoped Podgorny would do in Hanoi. "We assume that [Podgorny's] mission is to help the people in Hanoi to a fuller appreciation of the facts of life in today's power world. One of them is that Moscow wants more things from Washington than have yet been granted or are likely to be granted until and unless the war is ended in a manner tolerable to Mr. Nixon."

The most pertinent "fact of life" in this regard is that Moscow's foreign policy is geared to "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. This means subordinating the needs of the world revolution to Moscow's dealings with Washington.

The influential Washington bureau chief of the *Times*, Max Frankel, described Nixon's aims June 19. "Mr. Kissinger's continuing purpose in Peking, like much of President Nixon's purpose there and in Moscow earlier this year, has been defined on many occasions by Mr. Kissinger and the few other informed Administration officials. It has been to enlist the Russians and the Chinese in an elaborate exercise, both diplomatic and military, to persuade the North Vietnamese that the summer of 1972—meaning the weeks between now and Labor Day—is the optimum time for negotiating an end to the war. . . .

"Mr. Nixon, having withstood the greatest onslaught of which he deems the North Vietnamese capable in the foreseeable future, is asking that they deal with him now that he too needs to deal—or risk having to deal with him in a much stronger position in another term."

In other words, Nixon needs at least the opening of "serious" peace talks

between now and November to try to defuse the massive antiwar pressure in this country. After November, if Nixon is reelected, he will be freer to continue the murderous attack on Vietnam since the pressure to win votes will be off.

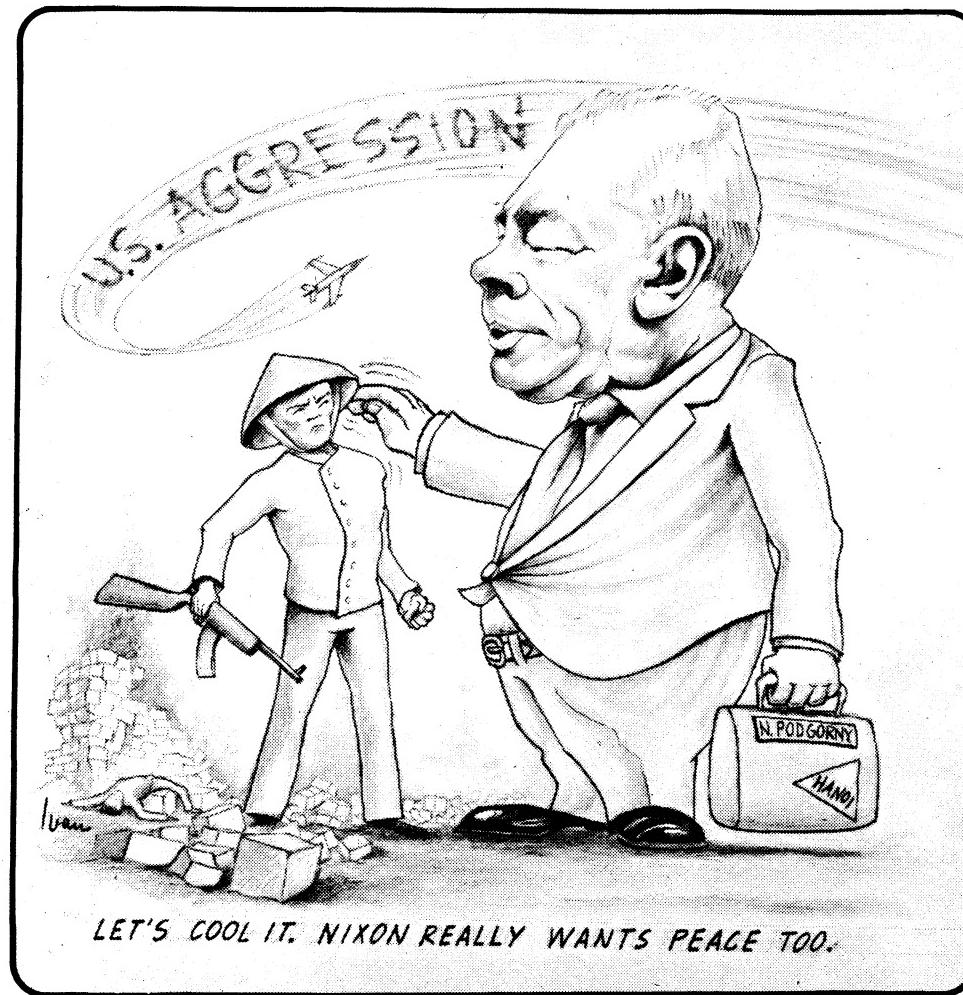
The cynicism of this policy bears comment. On one hand it admits that Americans are so overwhelmingly against the war that Nixon risks losing the election if he cannot appear to be seeking peace. On the other hand it admits that no matter what the majority of Americans want, Nixon, if reelected, will continue to carry out war policies bent on establishing a settlement more favorable to imperialism.

Max Frankel states, "There have been many indications over the last six months that this logic has been understood, with varying degrees of sympathy, in both Moscow and Peking."

Frankel then raises an important point. The North Vietnamese "have emblazoned in their memories another summer of negotiations, in 1954, when the Russians and Chinese pressed them to settle for half a loaf—and half a country—with the mistaken promise of more latter. Moreover, they remember having had to topple a French Government to get that far, and they must believe that they deserved the credit for toppling President Johnson and forcing President Nixon to withdraw half a million men from battle."

This is the big hitch in the maneuverings of Washington, Moscow, and Peking against the Vietnamese revolution. Moscow and Peking sold the Vietnamese out in 1954, and Washington took advantage of that betrayal to launch 18 years of bloody counter-revolution that is at its most murderous peak today.

The Vietnamese do not want to see a repeat of this betrayal. Under these circumstances, it is proving immensely difficult for the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking to carry out their promises to Nixon. Coupled with the crucial support of the domestic and international antiwar movements, the Vietnamese can still carry out the job they began more than three decades ago during World War II: liberating their country from imperialist overlordship.



Antiwar mv't answers charge of 'racism'

By ERNIE HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 21—Leaders of the antiwar movement and the Black community have responded to charges that the antiwar movement is "racist" and to demands that planned antiwar actions be called off.

The June 22 "Ring around the Capitol" peace protest organized by an ad hoc group of women and endorsed by Coretta Scott King and Angela Davis, among others, is being held. Plans are also going ahead for the Hiroshima Day activities in August.

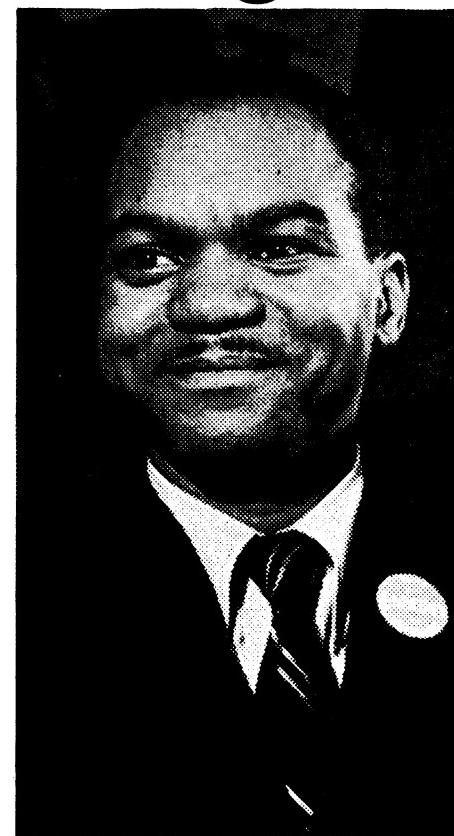
A statement charging "racism" and demanding a "summit meeting" of antiwar and Black leaders be held in place of the June 22 protest was aired at a news conference here June 16. Among those presenting the statement were Marion Barry, D.C. school board chairman; Lavel Merritt of the Congress of African People; and John Gibson, assistant director of the Urban League. They claimed to speak for more than 60 others, some of whom have disavowed responsibility for the statement.

Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, Marjorie Tabankin of the National Student Association, and

leaders of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) have lent support to these charges by calling for the cancellation of the June 22 action. They have urged the participation of some antiwar leaders in the "summit" and the exclusion of others—those supporting the June 22 action. Bob Lindsay, chairman of the D.C. YWLL, was a signer of the statement.

The statement alleging "racism" charged:

- That the Black community suffers from taxes made higher by the cost of beefing up police forces during antiwar demonstrations.
- That the antiwar movement fails to relate the Vietnamese right to self-determination to the self-determination of Black people in the U.S. and Africa.
- That the antiwar movement fails to relate the war to the wage freeze, inflation, and the oppression of Blacks.
- That the antiwar movement does not back Black political candidates.
- That the antiwar movement ignores the racist character of the Indochina war.
- That the antiwar movement re-



Walter Fauntroy was among signers of statement attacking antiwar movement.

fuses "to set a date to end the war NOW! And actions leading up to that date."

This sudden and unexpected attack on the antiwar movement comes just a little more than a month after some 500 Black students from Eastern High School took to the streets May 10 to protest the war. Two days later, more than 1,500 students from Eastern and other high schools marched to the Capitol, demanding that the U.S. get out of Southeast Asia now.

The Black antiwar students went before the D.C. school board, asking for its endorsement of the May 21 Emergency March on Washington called by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. School board chairman Marion Barry at that time refused to hear the students' request and hurriedly adjourned the board meeting.

Response to the "racism" charge and the ultimatum to stop protesting the war was swift. Julius Hobson, a well-known Black community leader and the vice-presidential candidate of the People's Party, charged that Walter E. Fauntroy, D.C. nonvoting delegate to U.S. Congress, was behind the June

Continued on page 21

In Our Opinion

Socialist ballot drive

The Socialist Workers Party has successfully completed a massive petition drive in Massachusetts. Campaign workers went over the top, with 100,625 signatures. This is the largest petition effort in the history of the SWP. To our knowledge, it is also the largest number of signatures ever collected in one state to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

The momentum of the Massachusetts drive is now being turned toward Pennsylvania, where petitioners have already begun to sign up voters who want to put Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot. Pennsylvania requires 36,624 signatures.

The victory in Massachusetts should be credited, above all, to the team of 40 volunteers who petitioned full-time for three weeks to meet the goal. Their energy and excitement about the project is indicated by the fact that they collected more than 60,000 of the signatures. In spite of the difficulties caused by the requirement that each sheet contain signatures of residents of only one town, the team members averaged more than 100 signatures per day.

Petitioners with experience in previous drives all reported a significant increase in the number of people who responded favorably to the idea of helping to put socialists on the ballot and growing sympathy for a radical alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. The success of the Massachusetts ballot drive is thus another confirmation of the deepening radicalization.

The petition campaigns in both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania have been made possible by court rulings on suits brought by the Socialist Workers Party and other radical groups. Both suits were supported by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL).

In Massachusetts, the court struck down that part of the law requiring signatures to be collected throughout the state. In Pennsylvania, the three-week time period for petitioning was ruled unconstitutional. These court rulings reflect growing opposition to the restrictive laws confronting all who seek to challenge the political monopoly maintained by the two capitalist parties.

The courts have refused, however, to acknowledge that the huge signature requirements themselves discriminate against small or new parties without access to large sums of money. The fight to democratize the election laws is far from being won. The SWP plans to continue making its contribution to this important struggle.

In spite of these laws, however, the SWP has announced that it hopes to have its candidates on the ballot in 30 states this year. The next big job is in Pennsylvania.

'World Outlook'

With this issue we begin a four-page international supplement, "World Outlook." This addition makes *The Militant* a 28-page weekly. The price will not change. The supplement significantly expands and improves our treatment of important international developments and helps to reflect more effectively the paper's international outlook.

The *Militant* serves as a political guide to activists in the movements for social change in this country and as a political organizer to the revolutionary-socialist movement. Adding the international supplement will help give a broader perspective to this purpose.

We anticipate that the addition of more international news will generate enthusiasm among *Militant* readers and will encourage others to subscribe.

Three and a half years ago *The Militant* was 12 pages. After a series of expansions we went to 24 pages one and a half years ago. At that time we changed our design and have tried to make improvements since.

We established a Southwest bureau which has made it possible to cover more adequately the political situation in California and the rest of the Southwest, including the Chicano movement there.

Last fall we conducted a subscription drive that netted more than 32,000 introductory readers. We followed it up with a renewal campaign in the spring. The number of cities where weekly bundles are sent has grown. All of these measures have helped increase our circulation.

When we went to 24 pages we wrote in an editorial (Dec. 25, 1970), "We do not expect the size, circulation and quality of *The Militant* to stop here. It's only the beginning." We are now becoming a 28-page paper, and as financial and technical resources make it possible, we will take further steps toward expanding the size and circulation of the paper.

Letters

'Let me make one thing perfectly clear. . . .'

Last week I got a throw away from my neighborhood supermarket that included some chatty little articles in between the "specials." Two of the articles were right next to each other on the page. I thought it was a funny combination.

One had a headline, "Love is Organic." It said: "The avocado is probably the most popular American green that nobody meddles with. Its own shell protects it. It thrives without insecticides. You don't have to buy it in a health food store unless you're happier there. Yet health food lovers think of avocados as love food from California. . . . Taste it today. This love is pure."

The article in the next column was entitled, "Are Chemical Pesticides Necessary?" It began: "No doubt about it, our ability to feed ourselves so well in this country is due to the fact that we have developed the proper use of pesticides."

*Connie Stancliff
Los Angeles, Calif.*

'We want freedom!'

I have become deeply elated in the contents of each copy of *The Militant*. It is keeping me and the other brothers here that I share it with aware of the changes that are taking place out there (all over the world) as well as in other penal institutions throughout the state.

The brothers here are holding daily P. E. (Political Education) classes in the effort to gather from each of our individual ideologies how we feel toward the present crucially important situation. We are dedicated to the struggle of all Black and exploited people around the world. We want freedom, "Absolute freedom," and we feel that the only way to obtain it is through uniting with others who are determined to overthrow our common enemy—capitalism.

I assure you that as many brothers as possible will get the opportunity to read *The Militant*, for I will spread it around to all those who wish to read it.

*A Prisoner
Tracy, Calif.*

'Your money or your life'

A front-page article in the *Los Angeles Times* recently publicized new ways in which local hospitals are hitting up patients for emergency services.

According to the article, several hospitals have installed cash registers and BankAmericard and Master Charge machines in their emergency rooms.

Among the problems cited by hospital officials is the fact that "the bulk of the cases take only 30 to 60 minutes, and our opportunity to get much information and collect is slim in many cases."

Dr. James Brill, administrator of UCLA's emergency room, told the *Times* that they still deliver care before demanding money. He adds, however, "It's not unthinkable that in the next five years we will have to ask for money the minute they walk in the door."

If that doesn't work, perhaps they'll start pulling out the fillings in people's teeth.

*Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, Calif.*

Wants more Quebec news

I have been a regular reader of *The Militant* for a year and a half and find it the only reliable source

of information available today, especially on events in Québec and Ireland. In an issue recently you gave the address of the newspaper for the Official branch of the Irish Republican Army. Since my issues are borrowed or just plain stolen before I have everything together, I didn't get a chance to write it down.

I am interested in learning more about the IRA today and would like to subscribe to their newspaper and support the movement for the freedom of Ireland and all small nations. I am French-Canadian and Irish by descent and would appreciate more articles on the Canadian minority in the United States, on the situation of the *Canadien* in Québec, as well as articles on Eire. If you could send me the address of the IRA, of the *Canadien* group which supports the same political aims and philosophy of the Socialist Workers Party, and, most important, information about joining the Young Socialist Alliance, I would be deeply appreciative. For several years I have been weighing this move, but feel that I should start doing more.

P. S. The article on Lunacharsky (*Militant*, June 2) was a most interesting portrait of this neglected figure. Congratulations!

*Québec Libre
R. L.
Wind Gap, Pa.*

In reply — The *United Irishman*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Official IRA, can be obtained from the Irish Republican Clubs, 37-76 64th St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Subscriptions are \$6 a year.

The Canadian group in political solidarity with the SWP is the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Their national office is at 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ontario.

Information on joining the YSA can be obtained by writing them at Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

How to starve in Cleveland

I work at the county welfare department here in Cleveland, which has given me an opportunity to see how our capitalist economy affects the daily lives of hundreds of people.

For example, one man was receiving temporary assistance because he was too ill to work and his sick benefits had run out. He was given rent orders and food orders. His landlord did not want to accept the rent orders because they were less than the actual amount of rent. The food order was inadequate for a normal diet and did not cover other needs, such as soap, toothpaste, and detergent. In order to do his laundry, the man sold a pint of his blood.

Another man has been waiting three months to get dentures because the dentist pulled out all his teeth and did not get proper authorization to make him a set of dentures. The man has not been able to eat much, and he is very thin now.

But as badly off as most people are on welfare, it is much worse for those who are ineligible. One man finally managed to get on welfare by becoming disabled. He had been rejected several times as "single and employable." He lost his apartment, his furniture, and most of his clothes. He had to sleep on benches and in unlocked cars. Finally he developed frostbite and his toes fell off.

Another man was not quite so "lucky." He died of starvation before

The Great Society

his application was seen by a caseworker. For several months he had lived in a basement and eaten garbage. He was beaten by some neighborhood bullies and ended up in a hospital. The hospital sent through an application form for welfare, but it took three months before a caseworker saw it. By that time he had died of starvation.

These horror stories are all true and the situations they describe are not unique. Every caseworker knows of several similar cases. They make me angry at the system that perpetuates these horrors.

My friends think I am unrealistic because I am a Socialist and I am supporting Jenness and Pulley for president and vice-president. I think my friends are very unrealistic to think that it is possible to so change capitalism as to eliminate poverty. Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley represent a possibility for change, the only possibility that I can see for eliminating the evils of this society.

H.P.
Cleveland, Ohio

Jenness-Pulley campaign

I only wish the Socialist Workers Party could be on the ballot in all 50 states and receive appropriate coverage by the mass media. Yet I do think that the SWP should continue to build a larger and larger election campaign because this is a major way of spreading socialist philosophy. Believe me, the 1972 SWP campaign has reached more people than most believe it has.

Continue your great coverage of the mass movements.

A Reader

The Militant in the classroom

I am a social studies teacher in the process of preparing for my history classes a unit of study viewing various political organizations.

One goal I have set for myself is to allow the party or organization to speak for itself. In the past I have found one of the most effective methods is using class sets of publications reflecting the views of the organization. This allows the organization to speak for itself and permits the students to reach independent conclusions free of any outside pressure or bias on the part of the teacher. Above all, it allows complete freedom of inquiry by the students.

If possible, could you send me one class set (30-35 copies) of *The Militant*? I realize this is a considerable request, but I do feel it offers you a unique opportunity in speaking for yourself and presenting your own views in your own words. In the past, study units viewing the various political organizations have been one of the most successful and popular media among the students.

T.A.
Concord, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

It's just in your head—In case you thought you had gotten a headache worrying about what was in that hot dog you ate, there's no cause for concern. Some people simply get "moderately severe" headaches from the sodium nitrate added to give the franks a nice red color, according to Dr. William Henderson, a professor of medicine.

Life with father—Tricia Nixon Cox gave her husband an album of photos for their first wedding anniversary. "Some of the pictures are humorous," she said, "and some were taken at the White House."

Yortville, USA—Last January, a Los Angeles woman came home to find a city wrecking crew had razed her house to the ground. They had been sent to the wrong address. After months of negotiations, she was offered only "nuisance value" for the house, which had been her sole source of income. She decided to sue. Meanwhile another city department ordered her to clear the rubble off her lot or face prosecution.

Free enterprise it's called—Pakistan's health minister said he had been leaned on by the U.S. and West German ambassadors, who demanded that he reverse a decision to switch from brand names to generic names of med-

icines their companies peddle in Pakistan.

Getting it together in S.C.—The governor of South Carolina dedicated the state's first prefab add-on bathroom. It was the opening gun in a drive to eliminate the privy from South Carolina. The units cost from \$1,500 up, with low-cost loans available. State officials estimate a quarter of the homes lacking indoor toilets are otherwise sound. In the other 75 percent, the families could consider ordering the bathroom and moving in.

Just Plain Bill—"I believe in filling needs," says fashion designer Bill Blass. "I know there are many women who are conscious of quality, who want quality and are willing to pay for quality. I'm trying to give them this quality in a collection that tells them they can be rich without looking rich." Example: A sable-trimmed cashmere coat over matching sable-cuffed trousers and knitted cashmere sweater.

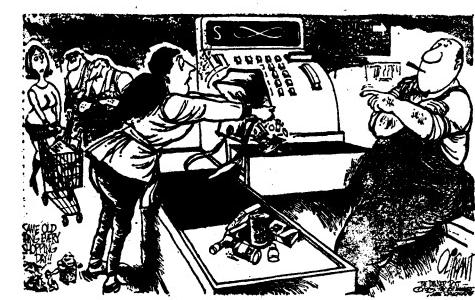
Don't put bacon in scales of justice—Los Angeles food inspectors who found short-weight packages of Rath's bacon in food markets were told by a state judge to knock it off. The judge said federal regulations require weight checks at plants, not at markets. Rath's said they can't help it if the bacon shrinks after it's out of their hands.

Thought for the week—"Every year there is more and more junk on the market, all robbed of its nutrients. Our wheat, rat droppings and all, is bleached empty of food value to keep the bugs from getting interested. . . . The real reason for this scandal is to make money. The health of the American people is in the hands of the industrialists." —Nutritionist Adelle Davis at the University of New Mexico.

Krispie-krunchie kewpie—Miss America said she was delighted that Kellogg will be including little Miss America dolls in their cereals.

Sounds reasonable—"FBI Style, Not Substance, to Change"—Headline in the Washington Post.

—HARRY RING



By Any Means Necessary

THE AFRICAN WORLD. Published out of Greensboro, N.C., by the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU), **The African World** is a biweekly newspaper of news and analysis from a Pan-Africanist perspective.

In the June 10 issue, for example, there are reports on the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations in the U.S. and other countries and a summation of the National Black Political Agenda as it was presented on May 19. The issue also contains a firsthand account of how one North Carolina Black community expelled all of the white racist businesses and a description of the contract labor system in South-West Africa (also called Namibia).

SOBU, which has chapters scattered throughout the South and a few in the North, played a leading role in building and organizing the May 27 actions. Their coverage of the actions in **The African World** included an exclusive interview with Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee. He is also the head of Malcolm X Liberation University, an independent Black school in Greensboro.



African Liberation Day rally in San Francisco.

Sadaukai views the May 27 demonstration as "mass based politics." He feels that they showed a "willingness on the part of the people to internationalize our struggle and a willingness to begin to understand the concept that we are an African people."

He said, "They told me Black people didn't care nothing about Africa . . . and guess what we found out? That masses of Black people are ready, but the problem was the leadership!"

Sadaukai also defended the all-Black character of the actions.

Besides reporting on the Black Agenda, **African World** also spotlights the continued retreat of the Black Democratic politicians from the positions staked out in the document. In an editorial statement, it cites the fact that an "optional disclaimer" was attached at the last minute to the final draft. This clause allows those connected with the National Black Convention that adopted the Agenda to publicly dissociate themselves from certain parts of it while remaining within the structure of the post-convention forces.

Thus, the politicians have denounced the Agenda points on busing and Israel without breaking "unity." The editorial took strong exception to this move.

On May 27, the same day as the African Liberation Day demonstrations, a rebellion occurred in Concord, N.C., a rural town of 20,000. It erupted when a white merchant shot a Black man in his store after an argument. Within an hour, according to the SOBU news service, 500 Black people gathered at the scene.

With fresh memories of other incidents in which white racist merchants have attacked, insulted, or molested Black people, the crowd decided to rid the community of all such businesses. The stores they could not burn down because of nearby Black homes were taken apart with axes and hammers.

The action continued the next day, prompting the governor to send in the National Guard on May 29.

According to the news service, "The troops that swarmed into Concord were armed with powerful M-16 rifles equipped with infra-red scopes for night killings. . . . Armored cars and military helicopters carried heavier artillery. Telephones in the Black community were shut off and electric power was to be shut off next. . . .

"But despite the display of white military might, one life-long resident of Concord echoed the spirit of Black people around the world when he said 'We only did what any Black community should do—we removed alien and undesired elements from our midst.'"

The article on South-West Africa centered on the strike early this year led by Black workers belonging to the Ovambo tribe. Work in some of the mines and other industries in the territory were brought to a halt.

Along with other articles about Africa, there is an interesting piece entitled "What Vietnam Means to African People."

A year subscription (26 issues) to **The African World** is \$3.25 in the U.S. Add \$1 for subs elsewhere in North and South America and the Caribbean, \$2 for all other countries. The address is P.O. Box 20826, Greensboro, N.C. 27420.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Gays brutally attacked

Grand jury charges mere 'harassment'

By JOHN LAURITSEN

"This is the press, an irresponsible press. It will make the criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal." (Malcolm X at the Audubon Ballroom, Dec. 13, 1964.)

On June 23, Michael Maye, president of the New York Uniformed Firefighters Association, is scheduled to go to trial for "harassment." This is the charge brought against Maye by a grand jury for his role in the vicious beating of members of the Gay Activists Alliance April 15. The same grand jury that charged Maye also brought charges of "trespass" against GAA member Allen Roskoff, one of those attacked without provocation April 15.

Both charges will be tried in New York's Criminal Justice Building at 100 Centre St., on whose walls is inscribed: "Impartiality is the Life of Justice, as Justice is of Good Government." The quote from Malcolm X would be more appropriate. An examination of what took place April 15 and what has happened since will show why.

On that evening, the New York Hilton's grand ballroom was the scene of the fiftieth anniversary dinner of the Inner Circle. The Inner Circle is an association of top New York political reporters and politicians.

Members of GAA entered the hotel and began distributing a leaflet aimed at the banquet, criticizing biased media treatment of homosexuality and gay liberation activities. As the gay activists were peacefully and unobtru-

sively leafletting the banquet, some reporters performed a skit in which one of them donned female attire and mimicked transvestites in a ridiculing fashion. Bobby Rome, one of the leaflets, walked to the microphone and denounced the skit as "bigotry."

Rome's action evidently offended some of the gentlemen in the Inner Circle because they immediately responded by viciously assaulting him. Members of the Hilton staff and Inner Circle members in dinner jackets seized not only Rome but the others who were leafletting as well. They punched them, kicked them, and threw them down the escalator to the lobby.

Maye, a former prize fighter whose professional boxing skill legally qualifies his hands as "lethal weapons," was evidently thrilled by the chance to show his prowess. According to witnesses, Maye charged through a knot of people and leaped down the escalator. There, he found Morty Manford, a leader of Gay People at Columbia University, lying semi-conscious.

Undaunted by Manford's condition, Maye cruelly ground his foot into Manford's groin several times, causing internal injuries. Others were seriously injured too, including former GAA president Jim Owles, who received a cut by his eye that took six stitches. His eye may be permanently damaged.

There were plenty of cops around, but they did not want to disturb the distinguished Inner Circle members who were beating and kicking the outnumbered gays. One cop told an en-

raged GAA member who demanded Maye's arrest: "We're not going to arrest Mickey Maye on the sayso of you creeps!"

The display of *machismo* put on by Maye and his friends, however, outraged more people than just their gay victims. Pete Hamill, *New York Post* columnist, vented his indignation at the brutality in his April 17 column. While the *New York Times* and *Daily News* virtually ignored the whole incident, the *Post* literally launched a campaign on behalf of the assault victims.

GAA mobilized for a rally and vigil, and a number of prominent persons

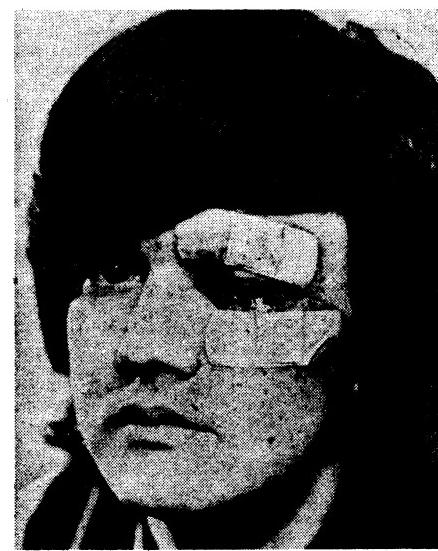
who had attended the banquet came forward to testify. Witnesses who said they would testify against Maye included Manhattan Deputy Borough President Leonard Cohen, city housing administrator David Grant, assistant economic development administrator John Scanlon, and others.

After a period of stalling, District Attorney Frank Hogan finally held an investigation and convened a grand jury. The mild charge of "harassment" was brought against Maye, coupled with the "trespass" charge against Roskoff.

Meanwhile, GAA members have continued to be subjected to other forms of harassment. Two men stopped a GAA member on the street and demanded he turn over the photographs of the Inner Circle incident they believed he had. When he objected, they beat him so badly that he required hospitalization. GAA members using GAA telephones reported that voices broke in on conversations, telling them their phones were tapped and making vague threats.

Maye reported to court initially on June 15, but his case has been continued until June 23 while the grand jury considers new evidence that may result in additional charges. Maye explained his action to reporters outside the court after his June 15 appearance by saying there were "queers, homosexuals, and every degenerate in the country there. What can you do in a case like that?"

Without waiting for an answer, he asked: "What does he [Manford] want me to do—kiss and make up?"



Jim Owles, GAA member, may have sustained permanent eye damage when he was attacked April 15 at Hilton Inner Circle banquet.

Republic of New Africa fights frame-up

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—The case of the Republic of New Africa 11 was the subject of a news conference held here June 19 by Ken Lawrence, an activist with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

Seated in an office at the Washington Square Methodist Church, Lawrence described defense activities in behalf of the RNA-11.

In the Jackson, Miss., area, Lawrence reported, the main organizations involved in the defense are the Black Jacksonians for Justice, the Delta Ministry, the Youth Caucus, and SCEF. There is also a New African Prisoner of War Committee in Jackson.

According to Lawrence, a number of white Southern youth have participated in the defense. The Youth Caucus, a newly-formed group of high school and college students, recently held a defense rally that attracted 300 people. John Brittain, an RNA defense attorney, was one of the speakers. SCEF leaders have spoken on many Southern campuses in defense of the RNA-11.

Lawrence, who is also Deep South correspondent for the *Southern Patriot*, the monthly newspaper of SCEF, referred to a defense brochure entitled "Mississippi . . . old and new." It describes the predawn attack by Jackson police and FBI agents on the

RNA Center and RNA headquarters last Aug. 18. The shootout that occurred at the center resulted in the death of one cop. The arrested activists were charged with everything from murder and attempted murder to levying war against the state of Mississippi.

Biographical descriptions of each defendant is featured in the brochure. Copies can be obtained by writing: Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), P.O. Box 5174, Jackson, Miss. 39216.

Hekima Ana, first of the RNA-11 to come to trial, was found guilty of murder May 3, and sentenced to life imprisonment by the judge. Law-

rence reported to the news conference that the defense will appeal. He pointed out, however, that they will have to go through the state courts before the case gets to the U.S. Supreme Court. He said the trial of another RNA defendant is slated for mid-July; others will be tried in August.

Besides Hekima, five of the RNA-11 remain in jail. Lawrence asked that people send letters protesting the frame-up to Mayor Russell Davis, City Hall, Jackson, Miss. 39201. To protest the rotten jail conditions for the defendants, letters should be addressed to the sheriff at the Hinds County Jail, Jackson, Miss. 39201.

¡La Raza en Acción!



RACISM RUNS RAMPANT IN AMARILLO, TEXAS: A report in a recent issue of the *Albuquerque Journal* indicates that there may yet be a lower form of anthropoid than that discovered by archaeologist Dr. Leaky in Africa—namely, the Texas Gringo [white racist].

The racist abuse and insults heaped upon the 49 Chicano members of a 138-person high school band from Santa Fe, N.M., while participating in a "Music Festival" in Amarillo, Texas, in late April reminds one that racism is one of the most deeply entrenched institutions in the U.S.

Joe Casados, principal of Santa Fe High School, wrote a letter to Gerald Hemphill of Amarillo, the executive secretary of the Greater Southwest Music Festival, detailing some of the treatment suffered by Raza band members.

"These young ladies and gentlemen were refused service in various restaurants, called 'dirty Mexicans' by adults," and band director Clark Pontsler heard "four men wearing official badges [remark], 'not a bad band for a band of Mexicans.'"

A group of young Chicanas waited for three

hours to get served in the motel where the band was staying. Pontsler then took them to downtown Amarillo and had the same problem.

Linda Sánchez of Santa Fe, a chaperon for the band group, reported an encounter she had with the band director from Dekalb, Texas. Sánchez complained, according to the *Journal*, that the Dekalb students on the fourth floor of the motel were making such a disturbance early one morning that the Santa Fe group on the third floor could not sleep. She finally called the Dekalb band leader, who was staying on the second floor, to ask him to do something about his students. The exchange that ensued was reported in the article.

"She [Sánchez] said the band director asked her to repeat her name and then said:

"Well, Mrs. San-Chez, we don't cater to people of your type."

The Texas gringo was then heard to go upstairs and encourage his students to stomp on the floor to create more noise.

Casados stated in his letter, in response to this

abuse, "I can assure you that Santa Fe High School will never again participate in any activity held in the State of Texas as long as I am principal of Santa Fe High School." He stated that it would be "unfair and inhuman to expose [the students] to such treatment again."

The Santa Fe City Council also responded with a demand for "an immediate apology from the mayor and city council of Amarillo, Texas, and from the State of Texas."

La Escuela del Rio Del Norte de Nuevo Mexico sent a letter to President Nixon protesting the incidents and demanding that he use his power "to immediately see that the officials of the State of Texas stop their racial discrimination." Unfortunately, that's like asking an ape to teach gringos good table manners.

A word of advice from this writer. If any more music festivals are to be held in Texas, hold them in Crystal City. The Raza Unida Party administration there will give you a warm welcome.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO

Debate within abortion law repeal movement: what are real issues?

By CINDY JAQUITH

At the June 4 National Coordinating Committee meeting of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), a debate was initiated over perspectives for continuing the struggle to repeal all anti-abortion laws. In her letter (printed on this page), WONAAC national staff member Rose Weber disputes the report and analysis presented in the June 16

nationally coordinated mass demonstrations. This was the "New York-June 24" proposal Weber refers to in her letter.

WONAAC national coordinator Matilde Zimmermann put forth another proposal, which emphasized the need for a national campaign of mass action, including demonstrations, to win repeal of the abortion laws.

Shortly after both proposals were



Founding WONAAC conference, July 1971. Since its inception WONAAC has operated by the principles of nonexclusion and democratic decision-making.

Militant of the differences that emerged at the June 4 meeting.

Before answering Weber's specific charges, it is useful to recap briefly the events of the NCC meeting itself.

Nearly 80 women from local coalitions attended the NCC, which was held in New York City. Two major decisions came out of the meeting: 1) to call a national abortion conference for July 15-16 in New York; and 2) to call a national tribunal on the issues of abortion, contraception, and forced sterilization next fall.

While there was general agreement around these decisions, a sharp disagreement arose over the evaluation of the work of WONAAC since its founding one year ago. Discussion focused on the fact that this spring anti-abortion forces nearly pushed through a reactionary abortion law in New York and succeeded in getting a restrictive abortion law passed in Connecticut.

Women noted that the anti-abortion forces had mobilized 10,000 people for a demonstration in New York on April 16, while WONAAC's New York demonstration on May 6 drew 1,500

introduced, however, the proposal supported by Weber and others was withdrawn. The real reason WONAAC's actions have been of modest size, Weber claimed, is because the Socialist Workers Party "dominates" WONAAC. She and other supporters of the "New York-June 24" proposal spent the rest of the meeting leveling vicious red-baiting charges at the SWP. They never got back to discussing their objections to WONAAC's mass-action perspective.

Weber claims the *Militant* article "distorted" the contents of the proposal she endorsed and presented to the NCC. It is true that this proposal said, "We... wish to reaffirm our belief in mass action." The basic thrust of the proposal, however, was to qualify this stated support for mass actions.

The proposal went on to say that WONAAC should rule out "any demonstrations on a national scale" for "right now." Although, as Weber states, the proposal itself did not specify lobbying, court action, or relating to women on a more personal level as alternatives to mass action, supporters of the proposal raised these ideas in the discussion.

One endorser of the proposal carried this line of thinking to its logical conclusion. Judy Syfers, a WONAAC national coordinator from San Francisco, explained in a letter read to the meeting that she felt WONAAC's pro-abortion demonstrations were responsible for the victories of the right wing. The WONAAC actions, she said, simply stirred up "a hornet's nest." The only conclusion one could draw from her letter was that Syfers was for abandoning open struggle to repeal the abortion laws.

Weber's letter also claims *The Militant* falsely implied that her proposal did not support WONAAC's national orientation. True, the proposal did endorse the concept of holding a national tribunal. But at the same time it raised serious doubts about the need for a nationally coordinated campaign to win repeal of the abortion laws.

For example, the proposal said "it must be the aim of WONAAC in future months to educate women as to WONAAC's goals.... this is a job which only local coalitions can carry out." (Why only local coalitions—why not a national coalition, as well?)

The proposal stated further on, "The local coalitions must be given the widest possible latitude for development, and this would not be possible if they have to work on a project the size of November 20 or Abortion Action Week." This statement is simply contradicted by the experience of local WONAAC coalitions, which were strengthened in the process of building both of these WONAAC actions.

Retreat from mass struggle

Weber's proposal boils down to a retreat from the abortion struggle in the face of the right wing's offensive. She and the other women who signed the proposal want to retreat into low-key activities—away from an aggressive, visible struggle that takes on the national government.

The events surrounding the fight to defend the New York law, however, show clearly that women are up against a powerful national enemy. In view of this, WONAAC must redouble its efforts in the abortion law repeal struggle, not step back. We need more, and larger, demonstrations, not fewer. We need to continue this campaign on a national scale.

The debate over the different perspectives for WONAAC is crucial to the future of the coalition. But Weber refuses to admit that these strong disagreements exist. Instead, she says that the "only concrete difference" between her proposal and Zimmermann's was the simple question of the date and place for the national conference. And she uses most of her letter to defend the red-baiting of the SWP that took place at the NCC.

She says that singling out the SWP is not red-baiting because "we object to their tactics, not their politics." But Weber clearly has sharp differences with the perspective the SWP supports. She does object to the SWP's politics. To avoid discussing her objections, she tries to center the discussion on "tactics."

What are the "tactics" she and other women at the NCC accused the SWP of employing? They included "domination of WONAAC," "packing meetings," and "using" WONAAC to further some undefined goals.

These so-called "tactics" were never substantiated at the NCC because they are complete fabrications. SWP women are among the most dedicated activists in the abortion law repeal movement. Far from using "devious tactics," the SWP has fought to preserve the principles of democracy and non-exclusion within WONAAC from the coalition's inception.

Weber's motion at the NCC that
Continued on page 21

Letter charges *The Militant* with 'distortions' and 'fabrications'

The following letter was sent to *The Militant* by WONAAC national staff member Rose Weber.

Posals. Incidentally, "the body" did not reject the proposal to stand—almost every independent woman there voted in favor of it.

A word about the use of the word "red-baiting." If we attacked the SWP because they espouse a socialist philosophy, that would be red-baiting. We object to their tactics, not to their politics. This is not red-baiting by any stretch of the imagination. The constant application of the term to all those who criticize the SWP is the cheapest sort of emotionalism, a crude attempt to tie us in with McCarthyism.

The signers of the New York-June 24 proposal resent Jaquith's implication that it was only Matilde Zimmermann who called for a national focus, in the form of a tribunal. Our proposal very clearly stated that in light of the week of prayer called by anti-abortion forces for October, it is imperative that we have the hearing in October to counter it. Actually, the only concrete difference in the two proposals was that ours called for a conference in New York on June 24, whereas Zimmermann's called for a conference on July 29-30 in the Midwest. We subsequently compromised on July 15-16 in New York. From Jaquith's article, one would get the impression that we independents got our wrists slapped for being nasty red-baiters, while the other proposal was adopted enthusiastically. This was not at all the case.

I hope that if nothing else, this article will cause people to wonder why it was necessary for Jaquith to distort the events of the NCC in the manner in which she did. Had the story been written by a member of the male-dominated press, I could understand such unfairness; but directed by a woman toward her sisters it is unforgivable.

The Third National Women's Abortion Action Conference will take place July 15-16 at Hunter College, New York, N.Y. (see page 23). For more information, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

2,000 women. These factors prompted doubts among some women about WONAAC's strategy of mass action and its orientation toward organizing the abortion law repeal campaign on a national scale.

A group of women, including five national WONAAC coordinators and several members of the coalition's national staff, presented a proposal arguing that WONAAC should concentrate on "education" through building up local coalitions, rather than on

U.S. court to rule soon

Protests of Mandel bans continue

By LEE SMITH

Sometime this month, the U.S. Supreme Court should reach a decision on the unconstitutional ban against visits to this country by Marxist economist Ernest Mandel. Arguments in the case were heard by the court in April.

The U.S. Justice Department had appealed a favorable lower-court ruling in a suit brought against the ban by the Belgian scholar and eight distinguished American professors. Leonard Boudin, acting for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, argued the case before the Supreme Court April 18.

Meanwhile, protests have continued against the West German government's ban against Mandel instituted in February. The Bonn government aped its imperialist big brother in banning the Marxist scholar Feb. 28 when Mandel was on his way to a teach-in at the Free University of West Berlin. The teach-in was organized to protest the West Berlin Senate's refusal to confirm the Free University's nomination of Mandel to the school's chair of social politics.

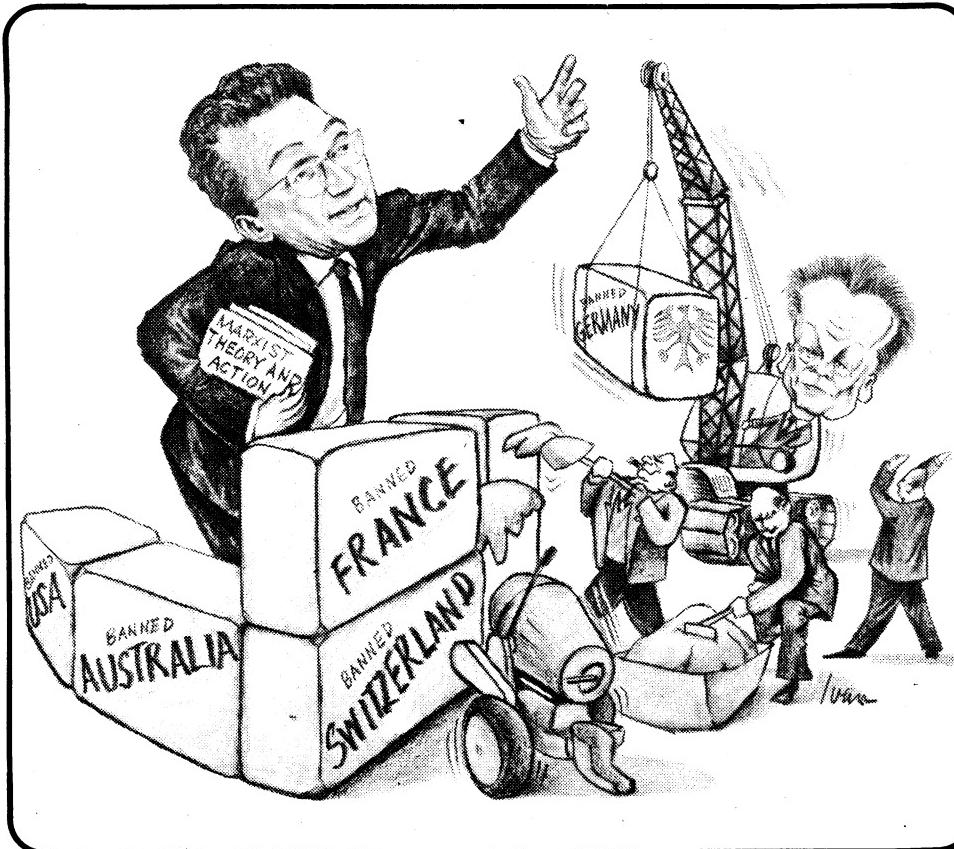
The West German government's arbitrary and undemocratic action—undertaken by the ruling Social Democratic Party—immediately sparked large protest meetings in Germany and elsewhere on the continent, many of which have been reported previously in *The Militant*.

Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russel Peace Foundation scored the Bonn government's action in a preface to a speech before a conference sponsored by the West German Metalworkers Union April 13. Coates and others presented a petition to that conference stating:

"We very much appreciate the opportunities which have been given to us by the I.G. Metall to participate in a free and wide-ranging discussion of crucial social issues. In convening such a meeting . . . I.G. Metall is upholding high traditions of democracy. In this connection we feel it necessary to protest against the contrasting actions of the German Government, which recently deported Professor Ernest Mandel in order to prevent his view from being heard in this country . . ."

In addition to Coates, the petition was signed by Andre Gorz, Alessandro Pizzorno, Heinz Kuby, Wolfgang Roth, G. Celli, Serge Mallet, Maurice Chaumont, Alberto Tridente, Robert Jungk, Albert Mercier, H. Claassen, Pierre Naville, and Hans Kopp.

A Committee to Rescind the Order Refusing Entry to Ernest Mandel was formed in West Germany in April.



Initiated by more than 30 professors, Social Democratic youth leaders, trade unionists, and writers, including author Peter Weiss, the committee announced its formation in a statement that said:

"This decision represents a dangerous limitation on the activity of scientists, academic figures, and representatives of various political currents. . . .

"In view of Mandel's twenty years of activity as a lecturer, teacher, and author in his native land of Germany, the decision can only be regarded as a restriction of his natural and inalienable rights.

". . . we demand that the order banning him from the Federal Republic be immediately rescinded."

Peter von Oertzen, minister of education of Lower Saxony, called the Mandel ban an "incredible mess and a great injustice," according to the April 24 West German daily *Die Welt*. The education minister was speaking at the state university in Hannover.

Around the same time a petition was sent to the Bonn government by the committee that organized Mandel's December 1971 tour of Canada. The petition said:

"This action, in our opinion, violates not only Ernest Mandel's freedom to travel and lecture in Germany, but the freedom of the German people to hear his views. . . .

"Having banned Mandel the person, how far are you from banning Mandel's books and articles?"

The petition was signed by Professor Melville Watkins, a leader of the Waffle caucus in Canada's New Democratic Party; Jose Nun, a prominent Latin American writer with the University of Toronto department of political economy; and a number of others.

On May 23, Nobel Prize-winner Dr. Salvador E. Luria sent a letter to West German Minister of the Interior Genscher that said:

"I am one of a number of American scholars who strongly protested to our government the refusal of a visa to Professor Ernest Mandel, a Belgian economist of impeccable reputation, supposedly because of his Marxist opinions. I am now distressed to learn that the Federal Republic of Germany has likewise excluded Professor Mandel. . . . Permit me to remind you that arbitrary acts of this kind by any government of a supposedly free democracy undermine the confidence in the democratic process and in fact destroy the basis on which democracy is predicated. The country—whether United States or Germany—that refuses admission to a scholar is the loser in terms of intellectual progress, respect by its citizens, and trust by the world at large.

"I shall personally refrain from attending any professional meeting or other scholarly activity in your country until I hear the Mandel decision has been reversed. I shall inform my German colleagues of my decision."

Argentine editor wins suspended sentence

NEW YORK—An Associated Press dispatch dated June 12 reported that Casiana Ahumada, imprisoned editor of the Buenos Aires monthly *Cristianismo y Revolución*, has been given a 15-month suspended sentence. Her trial, in which she was charged with two counts of "inciting to violence," began June 7 in Buenos Aires.

The verdict is an important victory for human rights and freedom of the press in Argentina.

The prosecution had asked for a four-year sentence on each of the charges. Throughout the proceedings, Ahumada's lawyers maintained that she was accused solely on the basis of articles she had published in *Cristianismo y Revolución*.

Argentine police had held Ahumada incommunicado in a remote southern Argentine prison since her arrest in December 1971.

The victory in the Ahumada case is due in large part to an international defense campaign waged in her behalf. In the United States this campaign was spearheaded by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

One indication of the impact of this campaign was the coverage the Argentine press gave to protests here. A telegram from Angela Davis to the Argentine minister of the interior in support of Ahumada was carried in at least one Argentine periodical and got on the AP wire from Buenos Aires.

On June 7, the day the trial began, *La Nación*, a leading Buenos Aires daily, carried articles on the June 6 USLA demonstrations in New York and Washington, D.C.

But while Casiana Ahumada is free, hundreds of political prisoners remain in Argentine jails. Torture is still a standard method of interrogating trade unionists, students, journalists, women, and members of political parties that oppose the bloody rule of the military regime.

Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*, commented on Ahumada's suspended sentence. "The victory in the campaign for Casiana Ahumada," she stated, "shows the impact of work done here in defense of dissidents in Latin America. This victory has inspired USLA to redouble its efforts to win freedom for all political prisoners in Argentina."



Casiana Ahumada

Car destroyed by flames

Bomb misses Teamster candidate

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, June 20—John T. Williams, Teamsters union official and National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) national coordinator, apparently escaped major injury when his car was firebombed here this morning.

Williams is a principal candidate in a sharply contested union election. Yesterday afternoon he received a phone call from a man who identified himself as a union member and said he wanted some of his campaign literature to distribute. He told Williams he was working nights and could meet him in front of the union headquarters at 11:30 p.m. Williams went to the headquarters, which is closed at that hour and is located in a deserted area.

The man didn't show, but as Wil-

liams was driving away he noticed a car behind him. He thought it might be the man and slowed down. The car pulled alongside him, forcing him into an embankment. It was at this point that the firebomb was hurled.

Williams succeeded in getting out before the car was destroyed by flames. He injured his head, neck, and back getting out. Examinations so far do not show major injuries.

Williams is candidate for both business agent and president of freight drivers Local 208 of the Teamsters. He was vice-president two years ago when the international union placed the local in trusteeship because local officers had allegedly permitted a number of "unauthorized" strikes. The California Truckers Association, an employers group, was a principal

force in demanding the trusteeship action.

Several months ago when the local was about to win a court action, the international ended the trusteeship.

Williams, who had accepted an organizer's post in warehouse Local 598 during the period of the trusteeship, is now a principal contender in the Local 208 elections. His opponents include individuals who had enjoyed lucrative positions during the trusteeship.

In a telephone interview from the hospital, Williams said he could not identify his attackers. He said he had received several death threats since he decided to contest the office. The Truckers Association, he said, would not be too happy with the reinstatement of the pre-trusteeship leadership.

Trials to begin in L.A. for antiwar activists

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Trials were slated to begin here June 19 for some of the 36 people arrested during antiwar demonstrations held in the wake of Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese harbors. Among those arrested were Ron Kovic, a paralyzed Vietnam veteran, and Ron Ridenour, a working journalist. A number of demonstrators were beaten by the police, including the paralyzed veteran.

The arrests stem from demonstrations held at the Nixon campaign headquarters for several days beginning May 9. On that day, some 500 antiwar activists gathered in front of the Nixon offices. A number of them staged a "die-in" by lying down on the sidewalk in front of the building.

The police made no arrests at that time. More than a week later, a number of participants were "arrested" by mail on charges of blocking a sidewalk. Among those cited were Herb Magidson, a prominent antiwar figure, playwright Donald Freed, attorney Ron Merlino, and Marge Buckley of the Peace and Freedom Party.

When demonstrators returned to the Nixon headquarters the following two days, police responded brutally. Protesters were ordered to disperse. While doing so they were set upon by undercover police agents, a number of whom had posed as demonstrators.

It was at this point that Kovic, the paralyzed veteran, was attacked and arrested. Reporter Ron Ridenour was arrested while attempting to photograph the scene. His camera was taken by police and returned later with the film exposed.

Ridenour was there in his capacity as a staff writer for the *Los Angeles Free Press*, an underground weekly. Officers in charge had earlier seen his credentials and given him statements about the demonstration.

Ridenour gave the following description of the attack on Kovic in the May 19 *Free Press*:

"Several witnesses (including this reporter) watched as agents Mike Miranda and Joe Robinson, who had been posing in civilian clothes as demonstrators, grabbed Ron Kovic out of his wheel chair and proceeded to twist his arms, beat his shoulders and back and later throw him into a police car in such a manner as to pos-

sibly break his permanently deadened legs. . . .

"There had been no provocation on Kovic's part. He was charged with being a 'public nuisance.'

Ridenour was arrested for "interfering" with Kovic's arrest, even though he was a number of feet from him. Later he was also charged with "resisting arrest" and creating a "rout," a lesser form of riot. During the past several years, Ridenour has written about various illegal police activities.

The following day there were additional arrests and cases of brutality.

When attorney Joan Anderson demanded to know why a cop was arresting a client of hers, she was thrown to the ground by another cop posing as a demonstrator. He was sporting an Andrew Pulley for Vice-President button.

Dr. Robert Bunker, a medical observer at the protest action, sought to come to Anderson's assistance. He was set upon by a cop who pressed a club against his throat until he was unconscious.

Ridenour's arrest was protested by the Freedom of Information subcommittee of the California Radio and TV News Association. They indicated that the two top officers of the media group are prepared to testify at Ridenour's trial concerning the violation of First Amendment rights in his arrest.

Ridenour joined the *Free Press* staff just recently. Previously he had been the principal writer for the *Los Angeles News-Advocate*, a publication assertedly dedicated to "alternative, responsible journalism."

Last month, a weekly radio program by Dorothy Healy of the Communist Party was devoted to a scurrilous smear attack on Ridenour and on the National Peace Action Coalition. Ridenour was singled out because he had written an article for the *News-Advocate* criticizing the Communist Party and Peace Action Council for refusing at the time to support the then-pending April 22 antiwar demonstration.

During Healy's broadcast, *News-Advocate* editor Tom Ritt phoned in to assure that in any future articles by Ridenour, "editorial opinion" would be carefully deleted. Ridenour resigned and accepted a long-standing *Free Press* offer.

Davis tells 3,000 at rally: 'You freed me!'

By STEVE BEREN

CHICAGO—"You are the ones that won that acquittal for me," Angela Davis told the mostly Black, mostly young crowd of more than 3,000 that gathered to hear her June 16 at McCormick Place.

The meeting, sponsored by the Chicago Committee for the Defense of Angela Davis, also heard Abe Feinglass of the Fur and Leather Workers; Reverend Willie Barrow, from Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity); and Reverend C. T. Vivian, Chicago director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

A message from Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher said the prosecution's lack of hard evidence proved "Davis never should have been charged in the first place."

The government had tried to red-bait her because of her membership in the Communist Party, Davis said. But "visions of wicked devils could no

longer be conjured up in the minds of the people. The people are no longer receptive to the government's rhetoric. . . . People knew that I had the right to be a Communist."

"Chicago leads the nation in police violence," Davis continued, quoting figures showing that from July 1970 to March 1971 more people were killed by police in Chicago than in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, or Detroit.

"I don't have to tell you that no cop was ever brought to trial."

Calling for freedom for Ruchell Magee, the San Quentin Six, Carlos Feliciano, and others, Davis also called for movements in defense of specific victims of repression.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley distributing Socialist Workers Party platforms, Black liberation brochures, McGovern truth kits, and obtaining signatures on nominating petitions, were well received.

Russo asks separate trial in 'papers' case

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—A motion was filed in federal court here June 19 that the trial of Anthony Russo be severed from that of Daniel Ellsberg, his codefendant in the Pentagon papers case.

Russo's attorneys moved for severance of the two cases because they are now awaiting a Supreme Court decision on their writ for dismissal of the indictment against Russo. The high court was asked to quash the indictment because when Russo was called before a grand jury in a pre-indictment hearing, he was granted immunity from prosecution as a means of compelling him to testify. Russo had appeared before the grand jury, but was not permitted to testify after he insisted on being provided a transcript of previous testimony.

Leonard Boudin, chief counsel for Daniel Ellsberg, said his client supported Russo's request for severance. If it is granted, however, Ellsberg will insist on immediate continuation of his own trial. If the government is not ready to go ahead, Boudin said, the defense will move for a dismissal of the indictment on grounds of the constitutional guarantee of a speedy trial.

Since the proceedings began June 5, presiding judge Matt Byrne has heard, and is now considering, a series of defense motions.

Among the principal motions presented was one that the indictments be dismissed on the grounds that they constituted selective, discriminatory prosecution.

A second motion asks that the court order the suppression of prosecution evidence comprised of public statements by the defendants. This evidence was obtained by surveillance of public meetings at which they appeared, as well as at press conferences and radio and television appearances. Defense attorneys cited a number of precedents in which the courts have held that such surveillance violates the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly.

Ellsberg and Russo were indicted after the *New York Times* and other newspapers published the government's "secret" Vietnam study that became known as the Pentagon papers.

Both are former Rand Corporation employees. Ellsberg also served as a Defense Department consultant. In that capacity he went to Vietnam in 1965 to make a study of the war. His accumulated experience and knowledge persuaded him that the U.S. role in Vietnam was illegal and immoral. He became convinced that the government was deliberately deceiving the people about the true character of the war.

Copies of the multivolume Pentagon papers were on hand at the Rand Corporation and were made available to the *New York Times*. The revelations, extremely damaging to the present and past administrations, proved to be political dynamite. The government originally tried to block publication with a court order. When this failed, indictments of Ellsberg and Russo followed.

The two are charged on three essential counts:

1) Conspiracy to defraud the government of its "lawful function of controlling the dissemination of classified government studies."

2) Theft of government property.

3) Violation of the Espionage Act.

The defense has moved for dismissal of all three counts. The charge of

theft is trumped up. The law prohibits the theft of physical property, not the transmission of information. The defendants are specifically charged only with xeroxing the documents involved. They never sought to retain the originals.

The Espionage Act has never been used except to prosecute those charged with providing secret information to another country with the purpose of aiding that country and injuring the U.S.

In asking for dismissal of the count charging criminal interference with the government's control of classified information, the defense pointed out that this was selective, discriminatory prosecution. This charge, they argued, was "brought for the unlawful purpose of visiting reprisal and oppression upon the defendants for their alleged disclosure of government papers which reveal a deliberate deception and fraud upon the American public by government officials."

In support of this motion, the defense has asked the court to hear testimony by 18 prominent witnesses who would provide evidence that high government officials regularly leak "classified" information and do so without fear of prosecution.

The proposed witnesses include former officials from the White House, State Department, and Pentagon, as well as journalists who have been given such leaks.

In requesting that this pretrial evidence be heard, the defense presented a unique, 57-page affidavit detailing the kind of evidence these witnesses would provide.

The affidavit says that a veteran Washington correspondent is ready to testify that classified information is leaked regularly by all government agencies, including the White House. White House leaks, he specified, are "usually limited to the President himself or his highest aide." He stated: "The government regards information of a classified nature as ammunition to be fired, not as secrets to be guarded."

He noted that Lyndon Johnson's memoirs include "substantial material from the Pentagon papers."

A former member of the White House staff with particular responsibilities on Vietnam affirmed he would testify as follows:

"I was one of those whose function it was to brief newspaper men. It was one of my jobs at the White House to leak classified information. We did it all the time."

Another prospective witness said he worked for the State Department, White House, and National Security Council. On leaving government, he asked colleagues what he should do with his files. He was told to keep his personal papers and donate the other ones—including those that were classified—as a gift to a presidential library, "first obtaining an estimate of the value of the papers, then taking a tax deduction for the gift."

A former special assistant to a president of the U.S. would testify:

"After leaving office, I wrote a book describing events occurring while I was in government. In writing the book I relied extensively on classified material, a fact which is evident from my book. I did not submit my book for formal classification review."

If the indictments are not dismissed, it is estimated that selection of a jury and the actual trial will begin in July.

Harrington versus Marx: The politics of a social democrat

Socialism by Michael Harrington. Saturday Review Press, New York. 1972. 436 pp. \$12.50.

By DAVE FRANKEL

With the mounting interest in socialist ideas among American youth, it was only a matter of time before a representative of the type of "socialism" approved of by American liberals tried to set the impulsive young onto the road of "responsible reform."

Michael Harrington, a national co-chairman of the Socialist Party, has undertaken this task. Predictably enough, he has won a warm welcome from the capitalist press. The *New York Times Book Review* has acclaimed Harrington as the successor to Norman Thomas. The *New Republic's* reviewer went so far as to hail him as "an American prophet." In reality, Harrington's newest book, entitled *Socialism* to deceive the innocent, is a crude and shallow falsification from beginning to end.

Harrington attempts to claim the support of Marx and Engels for his view that socialism will triumph without the need for a decisive revolutionary struggle. In the process, he attempts to eradicate the distinctions that divide Marxism from liberalism and utterly falsifies the real views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Marx: a reformist?

In order to back up his own view of Marxism, Harrington argues that Marx "increasingly envisioned the non-violent and electoral conquest of power."

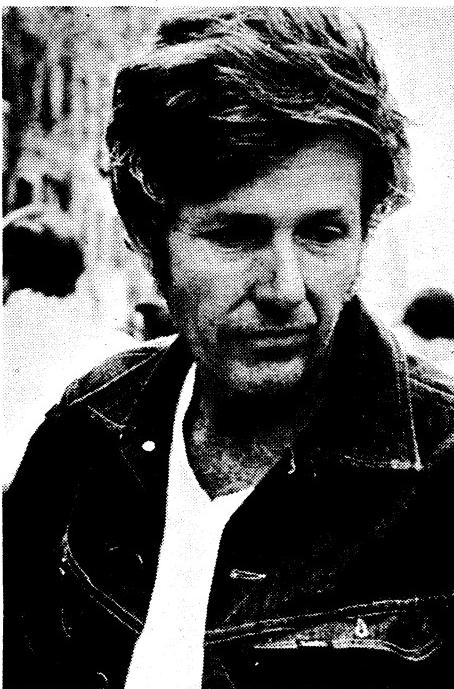
However, Harrington fails to indicate any ruling class in history that has voluntarily ceded its power and privileges when faced with the opposition of the majority of its subjects. Would the American ruling class, for example, fight to maintain its control at home with less savagery than it has shown in Vietnam? Harrington fails to say.

Nor can he point to even a single example of where Marx or Engels revised their view of the state along the lines he suggests. Yet it is precisely the role of the state, with its monopoly on armed power, that determines the necessity of revolutionary struggle.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, written in late 1847, Marx and Engels indicated that the workers would have to assume state power, but they left open the form this would take. In 1851, Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, based on the experience of the 1848 revolutions, that the task of the revolution was "to concentrate all its forces of destruction" against the state apparatus.

The Paris Commune in 1871 confirmed this estimate. In a letter to his friend Kugelmann at the time of the Commune, Marx wrote, "If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting." (Emphasis in original.)

Harrington claims that Marx and Engels defended the Paris Commune only because they felt obligated to in the face of European reaction. It's true that they believed the capitalist rulers had forced a decisive battle on the Parisian workers at an inopportune time. A Prussian army encircled Paris, and the workers were politically isolated from the peasantry. But they did not hesitate to embrace the Commune wholeheartedly and analyze its rich lessons. It's doubtful that Harrington would have done the same. He doesn't even support the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, let alone support the Vietnamese revolution.



Fred W. McDarrah

Harrington's 'Socialism' completely ignores the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, and the rise of Black and Chicano nationalism.

Harrington also develops the theory that Marx and Engels went through an "ultraleft" period during the turbulent years 1848-1850. He compares statements made by them at this time with later ones in his attempt to prove this myth. The fact that Marx and Engels revised their estimate of the timing of the socialist revolution and changed the emphasis of their propaganda in the period of relative quiet following the 1848 revolutions is interpreted by Harrington to mean that they accepted the peaceful transition to socialism.

Harrington, however, can't point to any specific instance where Marx and Engels adopted reformist views or abandoned revolutionary principles. How does he reconcile this position with Marx and Engels' efforts to build an international revolutionary party? Or their full support to the Fenian rebellion in Ireland and the rebellion against British rule in India, both in 1867?

Harrington doesn't even understand that revolutionaries fight for reforms. He comes up with the argument, "If one believes that revolution is imminent, then reforms, which ameliorate the contradictions of the system rather than driving them to the outside limit, impede the coming upheaval." And since Marx and Engels favored reforms, he feels that they must have given up their pretensions as revolutionaries.

He asserts this despite the record of Marxist revolutionaries throughout the world who participate in many struggles to improve the lives of the masses.

Partial victories won through mass struggle actually increase self-confidence and willingness to engage in further struggles. Revolutions are invariably the product of struggles around specific demands addressed to specific conditions.

It is hard to disagree with Harrington when he says, referring to his portrait of Karl Marx, "It could be plausibly argued that the Karl Marx who is described in these pages is a backward, and wishful, projection of this writer's present politics."

Revolution a la Harrington

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of Harrington's book is his analysis of the 1917 Russian revolution and the road to socialism for the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He begins by slandering the October revolution, characterizing it as a "revolution from above." He makes this assertion even though before taking power the Bolsheviks had won a majority in the organizations that represented the Russian masses—the workers, peasants, and soldiers councils.

Harrington also adopts the same position held by the Mensheviks at that time. They insisted that Russia was a backward country that did not have the material basis for establishing a successful workers government. He sees the European revolution, which the Bolsheviks counted on to bring help from the advanced indus-

trial countries of Western Europe, as "a delusion," the October revolution as a fatal error, and the degeneration of the Soviet state as inevitable.

In fact, revolutionary situations did develop in a number of European countries at this time, including Italy (1920), Germany (1918-1919 and 1923), Bulgaria (1923), and Hungary (1919).

In Italy the workers occupied factories and took control of many cities, but the reformist social democratic party refused to lead the working class to power. The crisis of Italian capitalism and the default of the social democrats enabled Mussolini to come to power instead.

In Germany, Social Democratic government officials collaborated with right-wing army officers in the 1919 murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, two of the foremost leaders of the German revolution.

Thus, the social democracy that Harrington speaks for bears a major responsibility for the stabilization of European capitalism after the World War I and the subsequent isolation of the Soviet state. This isolation in turn was the major factor in the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution.

Harrington defends the social democracy by claiming that the masses in modern Western Europe have never been revolutionary. He fails to take up the question of how they would have responded had the massive social democratic parties taken the lead in consistently mobilizing them in struggle against their capitalist governments.

When it comes to the colonial world, Harrington applies the same mechanistic logic he uses on the Russian revolution. ". . . if the great barrier to socialism in Russia was the backwardness of the country it had conquered," Harrington asks, "how would that be alleviated by joining it to economies, such as the Chinese and the Indian, that were even more backward?"

Harrington totally dismisses the powerful political impact of the Chinese revolution in inspiring and strengthening the revolutionary struggles of people throughout the world. Nor does he recognize the fact that the removal of China's huge population and land area from imperialist exploitation helped put the noncapitalist world in a stronger position in relation to world imperialism.

We have also seen in the last few years the impact that a revolutionary struggle in a small and distant country such as Vietnam can have on the development of revolutionary consciousness throughout the world.

To limit the movement for socialism by Harrington's economic determinism means to abandon the social revolution in most of the world. Premature action based upon "the substitute proletariat" in the colonial world can only result in a "revolution from above," according to him.

Rather than social revolutions in the colonial world, he advocates "the international equivalent to the New Deal or the changes wrought by the British Labour Party after World War II. The international economy, like domestic America and Britain in the thirties, is under the rule of laissez-faire. Now there must be a welfare world instead."

Harrington thinks that the colonial

Continued on page 22



French workers rally during general strike of more than 10 million in May 1968. Harrington defends European social democracy's administration of capitalism by saying workers have never been radical enough to make a socialist revolution.

World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to *The Militant* based on selections from *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

JUNE 30, 1972

Hundreds jailed in South African student protests

More than 200 students and several high officials of the Anglican church were arrested during eight days of conflict between English-speaking white students and the South African police June 2-9.

The clashes were triggered by a police attack June 2 on a small, peaceful rally of white students expressing their solidarity with antiapartheid demands raised by Black students. Twenty Black students had been expelled in May from the University of the North in Transvaal because of their antiracist activities. The Black students then walked out in support of the expelled students, and white students began to organize demonstrations in solidarity with the Blacks.

On June 2 about 100 white students from the University of Capetown held a rally on the steps of St. George's Cathedral. The police tried to prevent one student from using a loudspeaker. A verbal exchange followed, and suddenly the police assaulted the students. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Paul Dold described the attack in the *Monitor's* June 5 issue.

"With batons flailing, scores of uniformed police waded into about 100 men and women Cape Town university students demonstrating peacefully on the cathedral steps against the country's racist education system. Screaming students retreated into the church followed by police who allegedly dragged students from under pews, and chased others up the aisles, finally catching and beating them."

"Eyewitnesses reported the police were unprovoked and turned a peaceful demonstration into a show of violence which will long be remembered. . . .

"During the police charge pressmen were beaten and cameras snatched. The message was clear. The police

apparently did not want South Africa or the world to know what was happening."

The brutality of the attack, its indiscriminate character, and the fact that it was directed against whites gave rise to wide protest. Hans Strydom, president of South Africa's Society of Journalists, said the assault on reporters was a "hammer blow" against freedom of the press. Clive Corder, chairman of the University of Capetown's governing council, other members of the council, the acting principal, and the assistant principals all expressed their support of the students' right to demonstrate.

Several opposition members of parliament who had witnessed the attack asked Prime Minister John Vorster to initiate an investigation of the incident. He refused. "Such inquiries play into the hands of the Communists," he explained. He also complimented the police: "If the police had not acted in this way, I personally would have been disappointed in them."

Such government intransigence did not dampen the student actions. On June 4 some eight hundred persons packed St. George's Cathedral for an interdenominational service for "all Christians concerned over police violence." On June 5 the protest spread to another South African city. Students in Johannesburg defied a government decree that had been issued that day banning open-air political meetings at all university towns and cities, and marched through the streets chanting "Peace," "Freedom," and singing "We Shall Overcome." The demonstration was broken up by the police.

On June 5 in Capetown 7,000 to 10,000 students again gathered on the steps of St. George's Cathedral. Police launched tear gas cannisters, and scores of demonstrators were ar-

rested, including the Rev. Edward I. King, the dean of St. George's; the Rev. Theo Kotze, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; and the Rev. Bernard Wrangmore, a seamen's mission priest.

On June 6, the protests reached Grahamstown, where about 400 students from Rhodes University held a march. The police broke it up and arrested about 100 demonstrators.

On June 7 police used truncheons to disperse crowds of students who had gathered, in defiance of the ban on outdoor meetings, at the universities of Capetown and Witwatersrand.

Minister of Police Muller claimed that the entire business was the work of foreign students from Northern Ireland, Britain, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Mauritius. As preposterous as this analysis of the student protest may be, Muller's selection of countries from which the agitators allegedly hail has some significance. Most of the police in South Africa are Afrikaanders, de-

scendants of the Dutch settlers who first colonized South Africa. The students they have attacked have been almost exclusively English-speaking. In general, students at the Afrikaander-speaking universities have supported the government and the police.

But more important than the split among the whites is the undercurrent of Black rebellion that triggered the entire development. While the student struggles were going on, nonwhite bus drivers in Johannesburg went on strike to demand higher wages. In the June 7 *Christian Science Monitor* Frederic Hunter commented: "While less headline-catching [than the student protests], the Johannesburg strike is perhaps more significant—especially since it has occurred in a public service. Under South African law, strikes by African workers are illegal. As a result of their action more than 300 drivers have been arrested and jailed. Another 100 are reported to have quit working in support of their colleagues."



Students protesting apartheid were attacked by police dogs

Bangladesh

Students move to left of Awami League

Cracks are beginning to appear in the hitherto solid hegemony Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman's Awami League has exercised over the population of Bangladesh. In student elections held during May at the country's leading universities in Dacca, Rajshahi, and Mymensingh, students identified with parties to the left of the Awami League won heavily over Rahman supporters.

New York Times correspondent Robert Trumbull reported May 23 that the president of the Bangla Chhatra Union, the group that won the elections, attributed the victory to student disenchantment with the Awami League, "to which he ascribed 'fascist tendencies.'

"Student politicians are taken seri-

ously here," Trumbull noted, "since the campuses have spawned and spearheaded numerous important movements, including the agitation for independence from Pakistan."

Awami League candidates were also trounced in a local election to posts in the Chittagong Bar Association. While the election was not held along party lines, the May 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that the "defeat of the stalwarts of the ruling party was significant, at least in the local context."

The latest report issued by the United Nations relief agency in Bangladesh, while observing that "Bangladesh has been surviving on a knife edge," reports a general improvement in the situation in the countryside, a development it attributes to the

"resiliency" of the population.

But the "emergency" situation remains. "A landless laborer in full-time employment can just about survive providing he has only one wife and child," the agency wrote. Unfortunately, "no landless laborer is ever in full-time employment and most have over five children."

"Thus, he is entirely reliant on Government relief and ration-shop distribution for survival." The relief system, the report adds, works "only intermittently, as and when supplies become available."

The steady increase in malnutrition that results from the problems delineated in the report is the major factor stimulating the growing "discontent" with the Rahman government.

Interview with Chinese Trotskyist leader

Peng Shu-tse describes early years of the Chinese Communist Party

[The Amsterdam mass circulation weekly *Vrij Nederland* published full-page interviews January 15 and 29 with the veteran Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse. The interviewer was Igor Cornelissen. The first of the series follows, with *Vrij Nederland's* introduction. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

At a time when the lack of reliable information on the current situation in China is becoming a serious problem, an excursion back to the early years of the Chinese CP might seem like a rather extravagant indulgence.

In the next issue....

Next week's World Outlook will carry the second part of this interview with Peng Shu-tse, in which he discusses the Chinese 'cultural revolution.' Don't miss it.

Studies of the situation now, such as the one by Claude Julien that appeared in *Le Monde* not long ago would seem to be more timely. However, Julien also was unable to come up with any answer to the question of who holds power in the party and what the relationship of forces is like now that it is quite clear that Lin Piao has either been demoted or killed.

The answers to today's questions are to be found at least partially in the past. This certainly holds true for China, where leaders like Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi ("China's Khrushchev"), and prominent personalities in the army got their first political experience with the Chinese Communist party (CCP) in the 1920s. The average age of members of the Central Committee is well above sixty. Mao and Chou are pushing eighty. Moreover, the Chinese people may have wished the Chairman ("the world's greatest genius") "eternal good health" a lot of times, but they still have not discovered the secret of eternal life.

What happened in the 1920s in China? Why did the second Chinese revolution (1925-1927) lead to such a horrible catastrophe, involving the slaughter of thousands of Communists? What, too, is going on in China today?

Peng Shu-tse is one of the few people still alive to whom I could put these questions. A Communist since the founding of the CCP on July 1, 1921, he lives in a modest apartment in West Europe. Along with his wife, Peng Pi-lan, also a veteran of the movement, we reconstructed the early years of the party. It was a very strange situation. At the age of seventy-six, Peng is old enough to have been strongly influenced by the Russian revolution of October 1917, to have been a close friend of Chen Tu-

hsiu (the founder of the party), and to have collaborated with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai in their vacillating early period.

And here Peng was sitting in his apartment, far from the Chinese power center where he has no influence. In 1950, he was forced to move to Europe. In 1930, along with Chen Tu-hsiu, he founded the Chinese Trotskyist movement. They had become more and more convinced that the policy of the Communist International was disastrous for the Chinese party. The line of entering the bourgeois Kuomintang party of Sun Yat-sen—which, after Sun's death in 1924, came under the control of Chiang Kai-shek, rightist military leaders, and big landowners—had been catastrophic.

In Moscow, Trotsky was one of the few who had argued for the CCP retaining complete independence. But in 1924 Trotsky's role in the International was at an end. With their Trotskyist group, Chen and Peng waged a struggle both against the Kuomintang and later against the Japanese usurpers.

In the 1930s, Chen and Peng were condemned to long prison sentences (the death penalty had been demanded). Peng was held for five years in the Nanking prison. After his release, he was active for a period in propagating the ideas of Trotskyism, but this work had to be discontinued because of the victory in 1949 of Mao's peasant army. The victory of the revolution was a fact. But there was no longer any place for men like Peng.

Peng follows developments now from a distance. He reads the Chinese papers insofar as he can get them and listens in the evenings to Radio Peking. But in recent months, he has listened to no avail. "They broadcast nothing but slogans. You can't find out what precisely is going on now." But the names that come over the radio have more significance for him than for us. He can associate them with faces, events, and political struggles which because of his long experience are familiar to him.

Not only is Peng Shu-tse almost the same age as Mao Tsetung, they were also comrades long ago. The course of history, it has been said, is capricious and unpredictable. But Peng has few doubts. He knows exactly why he is living in an apartment in a European suburb and why his former comrade Mao appears to rule the roost in Peking, appears, that is, and this is a question I will come back to.¹

Peng was one of a small group of Chinese workers and intellectuals who felt the impetus of the October Revolution of 1917. In their heavily populated and huge country, they were very few. In Shanghai, there was a group of seven people around Chen Tu-hsiu, who for long years remained the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist party, founded in 1921.

In Peking a group was active around Li Ta-chao, a professor of history at the university. There were other small clubs in Hankow, Canton, and in Japan.

It is striking, Benjamin I. Schwartz wrote in his book on these early years, how little respect there was for Marxism in comparison with the later advances of Marxism-Leninism.² Around 1915, the paper *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*, the organ of the progressive intelligentsia edited by Chen Tu-hsiu, wrote a lot about Adam Smith, Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Darwin, Spencer, and Kropotkin. But Marx's name never appeared. For Chen "democracy and science" were the two mainstays of the merciless attack he was waging on traditional Chinese culture. Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism could offer no answer to the Western challenge but stagnation.

In 1919, as it became clear to the two leaders of the CCP that the bourgeois revolution of 1911 had failed



Peng Shu-tse

and that the Kuomintang had broken up, leaving power in the hands of all kinds of generals, they turned more and more to the Russian revolution and the victory of the Bolsheviks as their guide. Li Ta-chao called the Bolshevik victory "precisely the act of cosmic liberation" that he had been waiting for.

In the spring of 1918 a Marxist study society had already been formed at the University of Peking. One of its members was Mao Tsetung.

In 1920 Chen Tu-hsiu decided, on the basis of the Russian experience, that there did not have to be a long intermediary period between the end of feudalism and the onset of socialism. His opponents got him to concede, on the other hand, that as long as there was a struggle between the democratic and despotic wings of the bourgeoisie, Communists should sup-

port the first group. "But as soon as the democratic capitalists have won, they will become our enemies. . . . We cannot model ourselves on the German Social Democrats, who in practice used the political instruments of the bourgeoisie."

On July 1, 1921, in the French concession of Shanghai, twelve Communist delegates (some historians say thirteen—there is more than one gap in the history of these early years) representing fifty to sixty members met to found the CCP officially. It was not a very imposing group. And in the coming years many were to disappear, some deserting to the camp of the Kuomintang, others being physically liquidated.

Formally speaking, Peng Shu-tse was not one of the founders. But he was one of the first group of Chinese Communists sent to Moscow in the beginning of 1921 for training in the theory and practice of Marxism. At the end of 1920 he had gone to Changsha, the capital of Hunan province, where, some people, including Mao Tsetung, tended toward Marxism. Ho Min-fang, the leader of this group, corresponded with Chen Tu-hsiu, and so Peng came in contact in Shanghai with the father of Chinese Marxism, who in turn was in contact with delegates of the Communist International.

Gregorii Voitinskii was the Comintern's first representative, and he was quickly joined by the Dutchman Henk Sneevliet,³ who used the pseudonym "Maring." It was Voitinskii who told Chen that a special university had been founded in Moscow for "workers from the Orient." "In China," Voitinskii said, "you have made a good beginning but what you need is well-trained young cadres. You send people to Moscow."

First a school was set up in Shanghai to teach the prospective students some Russian. It was run by Yang Ming-chai, a Chinese who had emigrated to Russia before the October revolution, spoke Russian fluently, and had joined the Bolsheviks at the time of the uprising. Voitinskii also helped out as an interpreter.

After Peng had worked with the Communist group in Shanghai (they published socialist papers and managed to establish workers' groups), he left via Siberia for Moscow. He remained there until 1924 and was to be present at the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern. He met Tan Malakka, the Indonesian Communist found by Sneevliet. He saw how the German revolution of 1923 disintegrated and experienced the disillusionments this caused in the Communist camp.

Koreans, Japanese, and comrades from India, Iran, Turkey, and the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union attended the school. But the largest non-Russian group was made up by about 100 Chinese, some of whom had come from France (where Chou En-lai organized the first Communist group) and from Germany. Peng was chosen to be the secretary of the Moscow section of the CCP. One of the students was the present minister of navy, Shao Ching-kwang, a giant of a man who lay on his bed pitifully during the extreme food shortage of 1923 pleading for bread. Liu Shao-chi, Mao's recent opponent, also attended the school in those years. What was Peng's estimate of him?

"Liu came from Changsha, the capital of Hunan, where he had attended high school. He left for Moscow in March or April 1921 and returned to China in the summer of 1922, in August, I think. He was a very serious comrade and was very active in organizing workers in Shanghai. He was the party's trade-union expert for many years."

When Peng returned to China in Au-

gust 1922, the party had grown. It now had a thousand members, and there were two thousand in its sympathizing organization, the Socialist Youth. Peng was elected to the Central Committee at the Fourth Congress of the CCP in January 1925. At that time, he recalled: "Most of the members were students and intellectuals. There were a few professors. There were not many workers, at best 200, mostly miners and railroad workers."

The membership of the bourgeois Kuomintang far exceeded that of the CCP. According to one source, it had 138,000 members at the end of 1922. Another source gives it 180,000 at the end of 1923.

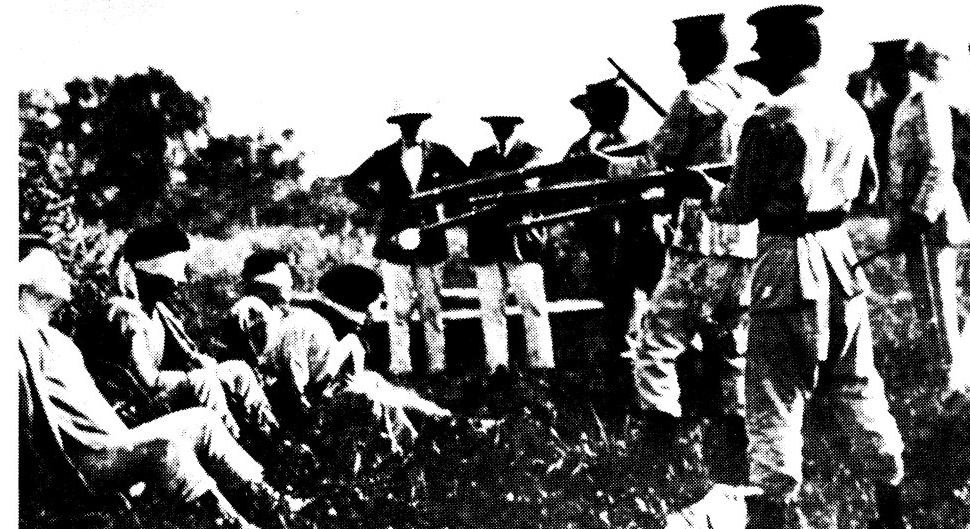
The Comintern representatives in China were also impressed by the fact

wing in the Kuomintang was in alliance with the militarists and imperialists. The commercial bourgeoisie was interested solely in good relations with the imperialists. *Only the workers, Peng concluded, can lead the national revolution.* This touched a sore point not only of the Comintern but also of Chen Tu-hsiu, who had dropped his original objections and now backed the orientation toward the Kuomintang with everything he had. Mao Tsetung propagated the very same idea as Chen, designating the bourgeoisie as the leader of the coming national revolution.

Peng: "There were, of course, people who had their doubts about the new tactic of entering the Kuomintang. But you have to remember that the pres-



Chou En-lai toasts Nixon in Peking



Scenes from China in aftermath of April 1927 coup by Chiang Kai-shek that crushed a revolutionary uprising. Above, laborers from a textile mill watched as Kuomintang policeman executed workers suspected of being communists. Below, workers and intellectuals face firing squad outside Shanghai—a common scene after Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolution had triumphed. Peng Shu-tse opposed Stalin's directives that Chinese CP should join the Kuomintang.

that the Kuomintang had an important influence over the workers and this influence grew rapidly even during strikes. Under pressure from the Comintern delegates and not without internal resistance, the Comintern made a drastic shift in its policy. In 1922-23, a decision was made for the leaders of the party (which itself was not to be dissolved) to join the Kuomintang. Sun Yat-sen, the chief of the bourgeois nationalist party who turned increasingly toward the Soviet Union in his last years, had given his approval.

The party's orientation to the Kuomintang led finally to the 1925-27 catastrophe. But by then—at the orders of Stalin and his representative in China, Borodin—this course had been transformed in practice into a policy of complete subordination to the Kuomintang.

Peng was one of the few who openly protested against this subordination. "Who Will Lead the National Revolution?" he asked in an article in the December 1925 issue of the party paper *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*. Peng's conclusion was that almost all sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie had become counterrevolutionary. The banker

tage of the Comintern was still very great. Most of the leaders and the rank and file started from the assumption that the Comintern could make no mistakes. The memory of the victorious October revolution was still very fresh."

After Peng's article appeared, rank-and-file members supported him. "But in the end, experience had to show who was right, the revolution had to get moving again." Peng thought this started to happen in the early months of 1925 when strikes broke out in all the big cities. On May 1 thousands of workers and peasants demonstrated together in Canton. The strikes were touched off when British soldiers opened fire on a demonstration May 30, 1925, killing twelve students. One statistician estimated that there were 135 strikes resulting directly from the May 30 slaughter, which involved 400,000 workers. When British and French soldiers opened fire on protesting workers and students in Canton on June 23 (killing fifty-two and wounding one hundred and seventeen), a general strike broke out. Hongkong, the British fortress in China, was completely paralyzed. Not one ship was unloaded; not one bale

of cargo was moved.

Peng: "It was shown then that only the workers could lead the revolution. The workers were in the vanguard everywhere and they were led and inspired by the Communist party."

After this massive strike-wave, the confusion in the CCP reached a peak. Was the collaboration between the Communists and the Kuomintang to be continued or to be stopped. Chen Tu-hsiu proposed a change in the strategy at the time of the Central Committee plenum in October 1925, but Chen's proposal was rejected by Voitinskii, the Comintern representative.

In a later phase—after Chiang Kai-shek had carried out a military seizure of power in Canton in March 1926 and was openly declaring his anti-Communist intentions—Peng Shu-tse was delegated by his party to discuss breaking from the Kuomintang with the other Comintern representative, Borodin. But Borodin's policy—and the Comintern's—called for continued collaboration. Chou En-lai, who was a member of a special commission set up to study this question, agreed with the Russian, "because after all Borodin represents the Comintern."

Peng became increasingly isolated in the party. Despite all sorts of doubts, the other leaders, including Chen Tu-hsiu, did not want to break the discipline of the International.

The tragedy that followed, with the subjugation of the cities by Chiang Kai-shek and the rooting out of the Communists, cannot be gone into here. André Malraux has written books about it (*Man's Fate*, among others). The best history of it, in my opinion, is *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, written by the journalist Harold R. Isaacs.

Not expecting any spectacular disclosures, I asked for Peng's opinion of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai, who, after all, he observed from close up.

In August, shortly after he returned from Moscow, Peng met Mao for the first time. "We talked about political problems. I found him very passive. He told me that he didn't want to live in a big city. He preferred to return to the country. I thought he was ill, as well. A few days later he returned to Hunan. Later I encountered him in Canton when I had my meeting with Borodin. He visited my home twice and asked me if I would speak to the peasants in the cadre school he was running, which I did. At the time his political conceptions were very far to the right, opportunistic. At that time he was also secretary of the propaganda center of the left wing of the Kuomintang, as well as being editor of *The Political Weekly*, the organ of the Kuomintang leadership. In his articles, he supported the cardinal principles of Sun Yat-sen (nationalism, democracy, the right to equality), although he naturally interpreted them in a 'left-wing' way. I found him very confused politically. He was writing an article at the time on the peasant question and wanted

my opinion on it. I thought it was very bad. He divided the peasants into two main classes, depending on how much land they had, and then these were divided up into innumerable other subclasses. That had nothing to do with Marxism. I told him that according to Lenin the peasants should be separated into three strata—not classes—the rich, middle, and poor peasants. And the criterion was their living standard. Mao knew no foreign languages and at that time very little Marxist literature had been translated into Chinese.

"I saw Mao for the last time in May 1927. It was in Hunan province. He invited us for dinner to discuss some questions. He was looking for a safer place and asked my wife Pi-lan if she wouldn't send a letter to an uncle so that he could get a better job. I wrote the letter.

"At the time, Mao did not give the impression of being especially courageous. But, looking into his character, he must have had a very strong inner nature. He was, of course, a revolutionist, but of a petty-bourgeois variety and not a Marxist. In the theoretical field he did not offer much, but he was very active. He was not the kind of man who listens to others. He believed in himself."

And Chou En-lai? "He was always more of an opportunist. He returned from Germany in 1925 and attended the Fourth Congress of the Chinese CP. I had a good deal of contact with him, especially after the March 20, 1926, coup (when Chiang Kai-shek seized power in Canton and the Communists were forced onto the defensive).

"His character was the exact opposite of Mac's. He was very friendly and reasonable. Everybody liked him. There were never any conflicts with him. But politically he hopped back and forth, from one side of the fence to the other. He never took a clear, definite position. For example, when I talked with Borodin in Canton and proposed leaving the Kuomintang, Chou said: 'There is much truth in both arguments that needs to be weighed.' That was Chou En-lai in a nutshell. And that has been his style his whole life long. But on the other hand, he was very capable, especially in matters of organization and administration. We had great need of him at the time. He had lived in France and Germany for many years and understood the situation in Europe. He understood it in an impressionistic way, but he did understand it. Chou was a man who was interested in knowing the opinions of others. He was ready to listen to them."

1. For this article, I have used four articles written by Peng's wife, Peng Pi-lan, which were published in the November 2, 9, 17, and 23, 1970, issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

2. Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*. 1958

3. I will go more into detail on Sneevliet's role in China later.

MOSCOW summit is a betrayal of the Vietnamese

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 31.]

The attitude assumed by the Kremlin in face of the May escalation of the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam constitutes one of the most brazen and treacherous betrayals of the world revolution in the entire history of Stalinism. The depth of this betrayal must be grasped by the international revolutionary vanguard and all the friends and supporters of the Vietnamese revolution.

Having proved incapable of throwing back the Vietnamese in their heroic advances on the battlefields of South Vietnam, having been forced to withdraw the bulk of the U.S. ground troops because of the stiffening opposition to the war among the American people, having been unable to maintain the pretense of "Vietnamization" of the war because of the spreading disintegration of the armies of the Saigon puppet regime, Nixon decided in cold blood to escalate the war to a qualitatively higher intensity in order to force the Vietnamese people to bow to an unfavorable compromise despite their resounding military victories. On May 8 Nixon announced that he had ordered all the harbors of North Vietnam to be mined and all transportation lines to be bombed up to the border of China.

In the history of imperialist butchery, the destructive power unleashed on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam since May 8 is of unheard-of proportions. The bomb load released by four squadrons of B-52 bombers is equivalent in destructive blast to a Hiroshima-type atomic bomb. The number of bomb craters in Vietnam was recently estimated at 26,000,000. The cratering of the land destroys it for agricultural production. This loss is on top of the loss of vast areas subjected to defoliation and to crop-destroying chemicals.

Imperialism will not stop at anything in its efforts to drive home its message to the people of Vietnam and of the world: better to destroy a country than to see it break out of the "free world" of capitalist exploitation.

While these colossal crimes were being committed, subjecting one of the most courageous peoples in the world to genocide, the Kremlin chieftains clinked champagne glasses with war criminal Nixon, as if they were toasting his deeds in Vietnam. They pictured their summit conference with Nixon as a "great success," a big step toward "world peace," while Nixon, with the callousness of a professional executioner, continued the most ferocious and barbarous acts of aggression and violence ever to be vented

on the workers and peasants of a small country.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is part of the so-called socialist camp, whose security and inviolability the masters of the Kremlin have so many times guaranteed in the most solemn terms. Claiming the existence of an imperialist threat against the Czechoslovak workers state (which they never bothered to try to prove), they sent 200,000 troops into that country in August 1968. Their real reason for the invasion, of course, was to suppress the efforts that had been begun there to replace Stalinist police rule with socialist democracy, a change that would have strengthened—not weakened—the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia against any threat of capitalist restoration.

But in face of the unprecedented mass of napalm, antipersonnel bombs, and patterned bombing nearing the nuclear level that are being applied day after day on the cities and towns of North Vietnam, the masters of the Kremlin limited themselves to a few routine press releases—to be used by pro-Moscow Communist parties for face-saving needs—while they publicly toasted the imperialist aggressors!

It must be brought to the attention of the workers and peasants of the world that Nixon is able to use obsolete B-52 bombers only because the Soviet bureaucrats refuse to arm the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with the modern fighter planes that could wipe the B-52s out of the sky. Yet they have sold such fighter planes to several bourgeois governments in Asia, beginning with the Sadat regime in Egypt.

The same goes for various types of sophisticated weapons. The Soviet bureaucrats deny them to the Vietnamese people but freely distribute them to half a dozen bourgeois governments in various parts of the world.

Even the amount of ordinary weapons is kept down to a trickle by the Soviet bureaucrats. The deliveries made by all the governments of the "socialist camp" do not reach 10 percent of what they send annually to Egypt. The cost of the aid is under 1 percent of the total annual military expenditures made by the U.S. in Vietnam.

This provides an indication on a material level of the betrayal committed by the Stalinist bureaucrats against the Vietnamese revolution.

Brezhnev and his cohorts have even hidden from the Soviet people the fact—revealed by the Hanoi press—that Soviet seamen were killed by U.S. bombs in Haiphong even while Nixon, who ordered the bombing, was being wined and dined in Moscow.

Apologists of the Stalinist bureaucracy argue that the Kremlin had to act this way in order to avoid a dangerous escalation of tension and a confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that could lead to World War III. This argument is completely mendacious.

History has shown again and again that to concede to an aggressor does not lead to easing the situation in the long run; instead, it encourages the aggressor to engage in escalation. In the United States today the mood is such that the vast majority of the American people would never back the White House in gambling on a nuclear showdown. The American people are sick and tired of the war in Indochina. They would never agree to risk a global conflict for the sake of maintaining a military toehold in Indochina.

By standing firmly and telling Nixon that his new escalation of the war constituted an attack against the entire socialist camp and that persistence in that attack would result in the Vietnamese army, navy, and air force being supplied with all the means necessary to turn it back, the Soviet leaders could have stopped Nixon in his tracks. By refusing to take any concrete steps to halt the aggressor, the Kremlin leaders fall into the position of accomplices in the crimes of imperialism against an allied workers state. They thereby lay the base for a still more explosive situation.

Once again the fatal logic of the policy of "peaceful coexistence," of "socialism in one country" stands out in the clearest way. In order to save the international status quo from unsettlement by a victorious revolution, the Kremlin bureaucrats cynically acquiesce in the massive bombing and genocidal destruction of North Vietnam. At bottom they consider that they are acting in their own self-interest, for a successful revolution in Vietnam could encourage the growing political opposition inside the Soviet Union and perhaps help detonate a revolutionary process that would sweep them from power and restore the socialist democracy that Lenin and Trotsky stood for.

As for the Maoist bureaucracy, it is unable to do more than issue feeble press releases protesting the bombing of North Vietnam. Having themselves accorded Nixon a royal reception last February, they cannot even take factional advantage of the betrayal committed by the Moscow revisionists. The truth is that by engaging in a "cordial" summit meeting with Nixon they helped make it easier for the Kremlin to abandon all restraint in groveling before the commander in chief of the U.S. war machine.

The complicity of the Chinese and Russian regimes in the Pentagon's crimes in Vietnam can arouse a sharp reaction among the masses of the Soviet Union and China. That would change many things. However, in face of the tight police control over the communications media it is not easy to spread the truth in either land.

Among the rank and file in the Communist parties in the capitalist countries the situation is different. They are not sealed off from the facts or from the influence of the vanguard that has been staging international demonstrations for withdrawal of the U.S. armed forces and free exercise by the Vietnamese people of the right of self-determination.

The Vietnamese are continuing their struggle with unparalleled courage and determination, and are still scoring successes on the battlefields. With the help of the laboring masses in other countries, they can still win their revolution despite all the fury of the imperialist beast.

The Fourth International calls upon all its members and sympathizers, upon all communists and socialists throughout the world, to devote the utmost energy to helping to organize massive protest demonstrations against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Bring the strongest possible pressure to bear on the Communist parties by spreading the truth about the latest Stalinist betrayals. Help pillory the Moscow and Peking regimes! Compel them to provide adequate material support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

To Islamabad, not Hanoi

Peking supplies tanks, planes, to Pakistan regime

All those who thought—because of the dearth of Chinese aid to the Vietnamese liberation forces—that Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Diplomatic Line amounted to much talk and little action should think again. The Great Helmsman in Peking has, it turns out, come up with \$300,000,000 worth of military aid including sixty MIG-19 jet fighters, 100 tanks (both T-54 and T-59 models), and a large number of small arms including automatic rifles and machine guns.

The only problem is the destination: Islamabad and not Hanoi. The Chinese handout, according to diplomats in Islamabad, was negotiated in February when Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was visiting Peking. The Maoist bureaucracy lost no time in making good its pledges: the bulk of the equipment reportedly reached Pakistan in March and April, during which period the Chinese also delivered six coastal patrol boats to Pakistan.

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By DICK ROBERTS

Now that George McGovern is the leading candidate for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, he is more concerned than ever with the problem of raising major financial support. Without the backing of significant sectors of the ruling class, McGovern could never run the kind of multi-million-dollar campaign necessary to win the presidency.

The senator from South Dakota must convince the wealthy rulers of this country that no matter what he says in public, he is a loyal servant of the capitalists and has no intentions of rocking the boat if elected. So McGovern's real views are being aired in the financial press—safely distant from the overwhelming majority of American voters.

An important step in the process of appealing for ruling-class support was "A letter from George McGovern," published as a full-page advertisement in the May 22 *Wall Street Journal* by the "Business and Professional People for McGovern." The letter was addressed to Belmont Towbin, partner in the Wall Street brokerage house of C. E. Unterberg, Towbin, Co.

McGovern explained to Towbin item by item how the tax reforms he has promised during his campaign do not amount to very much. There were several key paragraphs. ". . . I would like to reiterate one of my fundamental economic beliefs, as set forth in the Congressional Record of April 7, 1972," McGovern stated.

"The strength of the American economy is due mainly to the dynamic growth of the private sector led by corporations and other businesses. It is sound public policy to create the conditions for business to function effectively."

On the question of taxes, McGovern told Towbin that "From my years of service in the House and Senate, I am well aware that under our system, only the Congress initiates tax measures. The suggestions which I have developed in this field should, therefore, be regarded always as suggestions for consideration by the Congress."

In a letter to the editor of the *Wall Street Journal* also published on May 22, Robert J. Schwartz, treasurer of "Wall Street for McGovern," wrote: "The substance of the Senator's domestic economic program is indeed very strong stuff and would be basic to turning the country around. However, part of his program, such as the complete overhaul of corporate taxes and income redistribution, reflects a longer term view that one would hardly expect the Congress to legislate at an early stage."

The May 27 issue of *Business Week* published an interview with McGovern. In a summary of the interview, *Business Week* stated, "Now, with the 49-year-old South Dakotan out in front in the primaries, his thoughts on such matters as tax reform and income redistribution carry much more weight—and he is trying hard to sound less radical. . . .

"The closer he gets to the nomination, the more he seeks to broaden his political base and the more he modifies the details of the economic positions he has staked out."

Tax reform

Promises of tax reform are nothing new in American politics. In a country where some multimillionaires pay no taxes whatsoever and where the most powerful corporations—especially the oil trusts—have all kinds of special tax privileges, promises of tax reform always win votes.

In fact, pressure has been so great in recent years for reforming the tax system that some kind of tax changes will undoubtedly be instituted in 1973 no matter who is elected president. Representative Wilbur Mills, the powerful Democratic chief of the House Ways and Means Committee, has put forward a proposal that would force Congress to review all the major "loopholes" in the tax laws. Mills's bill is jointly sponsored by Senator Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, another influential Democratic Congressman. And President Nixon's Treasury Secretary-designate, George P. Shultz, has stated that the Republican administration at least "favors the purpose" of the Mills's bill. McGovern's tax-reform suggestions are more limited than those encompassed by Mills's bill. They would alter some aspects of corporate taxation and force high-income earners to pay some taxes. In the *Business Week* interview McGovern revealed how limited these suggestions actually are.

Asked if he wanted corporations to go back to the 1960 base of taxes, McGovern answered, "Yes, but you should make clear that this does not mean moving back to the old 52% corporate tax rate. I would leave that at 48%. But since 1960, a

What's behind McGovern's economic reform proposals



number of special considerations have been written into the law that we think are not justified by any test of fairness, most notably the accelerated depreciation allowances." A few remarks later McGovern stated, "I would retain legitimate depreciation and allowances."

On the question of taxing the rich, McGovern stated, "Look, we're not repealing the capital gains allowance or wiping out state and local tax-exempt bonds or philanthropic considerations. . . .

"We're suggesting—this isn't a final figure—that Congress consider that anyone earning above \$50,000 a year would have to pay 75% of the statutory rate on that income. Now the statutory maximum is 70%, so 75% of that comes out to 52.5%. So even on an income up to \$1-million, nobody would pay more than 52.5%."

Changes in tax depreciation laws are not so radical as McGovern makes out. They are the stock and trade of Keynesian government economic controls. When the economy is on a downswing, corporate taxes are often decreased in order to spur capital investment; when the economy is "overheated," tax credits for corporations are sometimes suspended (President Johnson did this in 1966) to cool the economy off. These practices will also continue no matter who is elected.

McGovern's proposals on income taxes are minimal, as he himself explained. If you have an income of \$1-million, you still have \$475,000 left after paying 52.5% in taxes.

And this does not touch the warehouses where most of the wealth of the ruling class is accumu-

lated—it's banks, trust funds, holding companies, private tax-free foundations, etc.

On the other hand, McGovern has talked about a tax rebate of up to \$1,000 for those whose income is less than \$12,000. One can hardly object! The only trouble is, McGovern doesn't mean it. In another of these "what I really stand for" interviews, this one with *New York Times* reporters in Los Angeles June 8, "Mr. McGovern said that 'it may have been a mistake' to specify \$1,000 as the amount that his welfare reform plan could provide to every American. He described a tax reform bill submitted in Congress last week by two leading Democrats [the Mills bill] as superior to his own tax reform suggestions." But the Mills bill does not include any tax rebates for lower-income Americans—the majority in this country.

There's still more to the tax-reform doubletalk. Again, no matter which capitalist candidate is elected in November, *taxes will be increased in 1973*. This is why the ruling class considers talk of tax reform all the more urgent. Tax reforms will be included to sweeten a higher tax bill.

The necessity of increasing taxes flows from the massive deficits the administration is incurring right now, particularly as it continues to escalate the war in Southeast Asia. "One thing is clear," *Business Week* stated June 10. "Tax reform this time will have to produce a net increase in revenues rather than the customary reduction. Administration officials testified this week that the deficit will be \$26-billion for fiscal 1972 and at least \$27-billion for fiscal 1973. [Congressman] Mills even sees a 'distinct possibility' that the 1973 deficit could go as high as \$35-billion."

Tax increases will be necessary to dampen the inflation that will be propelled by these deficits. But McGovern stays clear of the sensitive issue of deficits and inflation. This is because he subscribes, along with the rest of the capitalist politicians, to the myth of the "wage-price spiral" and to wage controls that are supposed to stem inflation.

In the *Business Week* interview, McGovern was asked: "Does the U.S. need a permanent incomes policy [wage and price controls]?" McGovern replied, "Yes, I think so."

Money flows in

Apparently McGovern's tactics are already paying off. The *New York Post* reported May 30 that McGovern outspent Hubert Humphrey by 4 to 1 in the California primary. McGovern's California campaign expenses were estimated at \$1.2-million—the kind of money that does not entirely come from small contributions.

In its June 3 issue, *Business Week* reported on the achievements of Henry Kimelman, McGovern's chief fund-raiser. Kimelman himself is a successful businessman. He "has taken a leave of absence from his business interests to zip around Washington in an \$11,000 Citroen Maserati, has some of his wealth tied up in tax-sheltered Virgin Island land," says *Business Week*.

Business Week lists some of the notable contributors to McGovern through Feb. 1: "General Motors heir Stewart Mott (\$5,000), Xerox Corp. executive Max Palevsky (\$25,000), former offshore-fund operator Keith Barish (\$15,000), Seagram chief Edgar Bronfman (\$5,000), Chicago Housing Authority Chairman Charles Swibel (\$12,500), and Florida real estate man Fred Epstein (\$6,000)."

This is only the beginning.



Henry Kimelman, McGovern's millionaire campaign finance director.

100,625 signatures!

Petitioning in Mass. ends in victory rally

By JEFF POWERS

BOSTON, June 20—"We have collected... 100,625 signatures!"

Thunderous applause and a standing ovation for the Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party campaign workers greeted this announcement at a victory rally here on June 17. More than 250 people attended to celebrate the windup of the drive to place SWP candidates on the ballot. In Massachusetts, 56,038 signatures on nominating petitions are required for ballot status.

SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness told campaign supporters at the rally, "You have completed not

The 100,625 signatures collected will also place Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, on the ballot. In addition, more than 18,000 signatures have been gathered on separate petitions to place congressional candidates John E. Powers and Jeanne Lafferty on the ballot.

At the beginning of the ballot drive, Massachusetts petitioners averaged 85 signatures per day. By the end of the three-week petitioning period, the average had climbed to 124 signatures per day. Almost 300 persons participated in the signature drive, including 40 full-time petitioners.

Prizes were awarded at the rally



Linda Jenness speaking at Boston rally

Militant/Jon Flanders

only the biggest petitioning effort in the history of the Socialist Workers Party but also in the history of any socialist movement."

Jenness spoke at length of her recent trip to Latin America, where she was greeted by large, enthusiastic crowds who showed their support for her role as an opponent of U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, as a feminist, and as a socialist.

Only two states—California and Georgia—require more signatures for ballot status than Massachusetts. In going well over the 56,038 signature requirement, campaign supporters have virtually assured the SWP candidates a place on the Massachusetts ballot.



Militant/Jon Flanders

Paperwork in preparation for filing the more than 100,000 signatures collected by Massachusetts SWP campaign supporters has already begun.

to Jeff Powers for the most signatures collected on a part-time basis, and to Willa Madden for collecting the most signatures overall and the most signatures in a single day.

"You didn't get those signatures for any personal gain," commented Linda Jenness in her rally speech. "You didn't petition because it was fun or because you didn't have anything else to do."

"You petitioned for the same reason that we are carrying out all of our other activities—as a step toward building the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party and bringing closer the day when North America, Latin America, Vietnam, and humanity as a whole can live in a rational, human, and peaceful socialist world."

Seventeen persons signed cards endorsing the SWP ticket at the rally. This brings to 150 the total number of endorsers obtained during the petitioning drive. Through contact with the petitioners, several people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Although the signature-gathering is officially over, the task of filing the signatures still lies ahead. State law requires that signatures be filed in individual towns. SWP petitioners have gathered signatures in more than 150 towns.

Office coordinator Anne-Marie Capuzzi explained, "We have already begun the process of filing. We have filed 27,300 presidential and senatorial signatures, 4,941 signatures for the 8th C.D., and 3,623 for the 9th C.D. We have until July 5 to complete the filing, but we want to finish earlier. We want every signature filed within the next two weeks."

Pa. is next big state in SWP ballot drive

By JUDY UHL

The success of the drive to obtain 100,000 signatures on nominating petitions in Massachusetts is only one indication that the Socialist Workers Party ballot plans are right on schedule. To date, more than 333,000 signatures have been collected nationwide toward the goal of winning ballot status for the SWP presidential ticket in a majority of the states. To gain ballot status in 30 states, a total of 440,000 signatures must be collected.



Militant/Brian Shannon



Militant/Howard Petrick

Signatures collected during the Illinois petitioning drive will help place Pat Grogan, SWP candidate for governor, and Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, on the state ballot.

As a result of a partial court victory, Pennsylvania has been added to the SWP's petitioning plans. This week campaign supporters there began a campaign to obtain 35,624 signatures by Aug. 14. The courts struck down the short 21-day period for collecting signatures last week. The Socialist Workers Party and four other parties were plaintiffs in the suit.

Twenty-eight hundred signatures have already been collected. Averaging more than 100 signatures each on Sat., June 17, 25 campaign supporters canvassed in Philadelphia. Reflecting the optimism of other state ballot drives, the petitioners said they expected to finish their task long before the filing deadline.

The Pennsylvania ballot drive is taking on a statewide character. Campaign supporters in Pittsburgh and Erie have indicated they will circulate petitions. After scouting the Pittsburgh area, Paul LaBlanc, a Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley, indicated that the rate of signatures obtained per day in that city should be extremely high. Eight campuses and several mammoth shopping centers are located in the metropolitan area.

In conjunction with the petitioning, Linda Jenness will tour the Pennsylvania area in late June and early July. She plans to be in Philadelphia from June 28 to June 30, and will appear at a campaign meeting in Pittsburgh on July 5.

SWP campaign supporters in three other states met their signature requirements last week. In Washington, D.C., campaign supporters wound up their drive with 24,600 signatures. Five percent of the registered voters in the District as of July 1, 1972, must sign the petitions. Most estimates put this figure at 13,500 signatures. The D.C. campaign committee is now completing the paper work on the petitions so that they can be submitted to the board of elections before the end of the month.

The Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign took another step forward by completing the petitioning in Tennessee in just three days. A total of 250 signatures are required; 25 for each of the 10 electors. More than 500

signatures were collected to ensure ballot status. As soon as the petitions have been duplicated, copies will be filed in each of Tennessee's 95 counties.

In Iowa, SWP campaign supporters netted 1,843 signatures in one weekend in an effort to put Jenness and Pulley on the ballot. One thousand valid signatures are required for ballot status. Supporters circulated petitions in Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Cedar Falls, and Des Moines.



Militant/Howard Petrick

The SWP has so far completed petitioning requirements in 15 states. In 1968, the SWP was on the ballot in 19 states.

Campaign supporters in Illinois are continuing their push to obtain 40,000 signatures by Aug. 7. Their signature total now stands at 31,700. One petitioner, Debbie Gobat, was filmed by a local TV station while petitioning at the recent Angela Davis rally held in Chicago.

As the film clips covering the Davis rally of 3,000 were shown, the an-

Volunteers and money are needed to help complete the SWP ballot drive. If you would like to help, clip the coupon below and send it to: SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

- I would like to help petition to put the SWP on the ballot. Send me information.
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Name _____
Address _____ Phone _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
School/organization _____

nouncer noted that the SWP had been petitioning at the gathering to place its candidates on the ballot. Nearly 200 signatures were obtained at the Davis rally by four campaign supporters.

The states in which the SWP will petition during the next few months include: Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. If you would like to help petition in one of these states, contact the national campaign committee by sending in the coupon on this page.

Fight for jobs in Seattle building trades

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE, June 16—For two weeks Seattle has been rocked almost daily by construction job closures, demonstrations, rallies, sit-ins, and sleep-ins led by the United Construction Workers Association (UCWA).

The UCWA is demanding the implementation of federal court orders requiring area contractors and unions to meet hiring quotas for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. The UCWA is also demanding control over the dispatching of such apprentices to job sites.

The quotas were won two years ago through a series of militant struggles led by the UCWA. According to the UCWA, there should be an additional 300 Black, Chicano, Indian, and Asian workers on the job sites. Failure of any federal agency to cancel contracts with the projects in question during the last two years led to the present series of militant actions.

Opposing the UCWA are the Associated General Contractors and the various building trades unions. Although both have agreed to the hiring of more "minority" workers this summer, they have refused to give up control over the dispatching of these workers.

Tyree Scott, a director of UCWA, told a June 11 rally at Garfield High School: "The unions say it won't work, the contractors say it won't work. But what we want is the right for community control. That's what it means, the right to have minority workers dispatch out minority workers."

The main tactic of the UCWA and its supporters has been closing down job sites in the Seattle area. More than a dozen have been shut. From 40 to more than 100 members and supporters march onto a job site and request that the job superintendent close the site down. In most cases they have complied. The job closures continue in the face of a court-ordered injunction.

On several occasions the demonstrators were attacked by white union officials and workers. In each case the demonstrators have defended them-

selves. One such attack led to a vicious fight in which two-inch by four-inch planks and metal reinforcing rods became weapons. Several white workers and a union official were hospitalized.

A police attack at the site of one job action led to the arrest of a number of UCWA members and supporters. Arrested during one demonstration were Tyree Scott and Milt Jefferson of the UCWA, Sam Martinez from the Chicano division of the University of Washington Office of Minority Affairs, and State Representative Mike Ross, a Black Republican.

Support for the UCWA has come from almost two dozen organizations, such as the Seattle Urban League and the State Council of Churches. Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state superintendent of public instruction; Craig Honts, SWP candidate in the 1st C.D.; and campaign supporters have joined in the job closures.

A June 8 statement by the socialist candidates addressed itself to the fears of white workers that these measures threaten their jobs: "The source of unemployment and declining standard of living is the capitalist profit-making system . . . we call for a 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay to provide more jobs, to spread the available work around."

Raza Unida parties plan first national gathering

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

DENVER — Representatives from eight states concluded a one-day leadership-level meeting here June 18. They met to discuss plans and priorities for the Raza Unida national conference scheduled for El Paso, Texas, Sept. 1-4.

Participants at the meeting included elected officials from the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party administration and representatives from Southern California, Washington State, Minnesota, Idaho, Nebraska, Illinois, and Colorado. Rubén Solis, RUP candidate for Texas state treasurer, chaired the session.

The El Paso conference was called by José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party. A poster distributed by Gutiérrez includes a statement of what he sees as the purpose of the gathering:

"Chicanos are to be the balance of power in the presidential election of 1972. Join us in El Paso over the Labor Day weekend to turn another page in the history of Chicano self-determination, Chicano power, and the building of Aztlán. We of the Raza Unida Party on November 7, 1972, will elect many local candidates across the country. For president, however, we will endorse the candidate that endorses our people in our program for action . . ."

At a well-attended news conference on June 19, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairman of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, stated that the El Paso national conference "will be the first of its kind in the history of this country. It won't be dealing with forming an independent party because we already formed it. We'll be dealing with what we will be doing as an

independent party."

Gonzales summed up the feelings of the majority attending the planning session when he stated, "We don't intend to negotiate with the two-party system on any level." He indicated that there may be differences at the national conference and that a discussion of "the philosophy of the party is one of the priorities." Other issues of concern were the educational system, the war in Indochina, and the deportation of undocumented Raza workers.

Gonzales also projected the possibility of coming out of the El Paso conference with a Chicano candidate for president to get a "protest vote." Such a move would provide an independent alternative to the Democratic and Republican candidates that could have mass appeal among Chicanos.

Also present at the news conference was Arturo Vazquez, representing the Illinois Chicano chapter of the National Spanish-speaking Coalition. "Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats," he stated, "have the interests of the Chicanos at stake in their controlling the politics of this country . . . independent political action on the part of our people is necessary for the kinds of changes and the kinds of benefits we desire." Vazquez expressed his full support for the Raza Unida Party and explained that he would work on mobilizing a large delegation to the El Paso conference.

When questioned by reporters on what he thought about the increased number of Chicano delegates to the Democratic national convention, Gonzales answered, "The party has vested interests in trying to gain and secure our vote, so they use window dressing to draw them in."

He then commented on the national political scene and in particular on the possible Democratic nominee: "McGovern is the leader at this time, but it depends on what deals he makes with Humphrey, Muskie, and Wallace. If they need a dark horse," Gonzales said, "They'll bring on Ted Kennedy."

On the question of coalitions with other groups, Gonzales answered, "We first are going to organize a national independent party. No one can form coalitions until they are organized. We have had too many people going off to form coalitions when they are the voice of one. We don't plan to do that."

In an interview with *The Militant* after the news conference, Gonzales commented on some of the issues raised in the national planning meeting. In regard to United Farm Workers leader César Chávez's endorsement of McGovern, Gonzales stated, "It is my feeling that Chávez's position is based on his union activities . . . I feel that he hopes he can get [favorable labor laws] through the Democratic Party. I don't have that same belief because I've worked with the Democratic Party."

Gonzales was referring to the fact that in 1960 he was the chairman of the Colorado "Viva Kennedy" committee, which turned out the highest Chicano Democratic vote in the history of that state. He stopped working within the Democratic Party when he realized it was not resulting in any fundamental change for La Raza.

"I can't see dealing with McGovern on the basis of promises," he continued, "or dealing with Nixon on the basis of no action . . . The only expression we can make is one of resistance and protest, and our protest and resistance comes from not being involved in the reactionary actions of the two-party system . . ."

"I don't think the change in power in this country is going to come about through the change of presidents. The system is controlled by vested interests, industrial corporations . . . I don't believe in the bargaining of our people for program money or money at any level."

Colorado Raza Unida Party discusses campaign

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

DENVER — The Colorado Raza Unida Party held a county meeting here June 16 and a statewide planning assembly June 17. The meetings, which were held at the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice, discussed the elections of state legislators and U.S. representatives.

Both meetings projected mounting an intensive door-to-door campaign and voter-registration drive to register Chicanos as independents. (The Raza Unida Party must receive at least 10 percent of the vote before people can register RUP, so the party is registering Chicanos as independents.) Several storefront headquarters have been set up for this effort.

At the Denver County meeting, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales emphasized the importance of a candidate-review committee to ensure that prospective candidates agree with the party platform and will campaign on that basis. In the 1971 Denver municipal elections, one RUP candidate turned around and endorsed the Democrats after losing the primary.

The state planning assembly brought together about 100 RUP representatives from various Colorado cities. The session was chaired by Sal Carpio, the 1970 RUP congressional candidate from Denver, who received 3.2 percent of the vote.

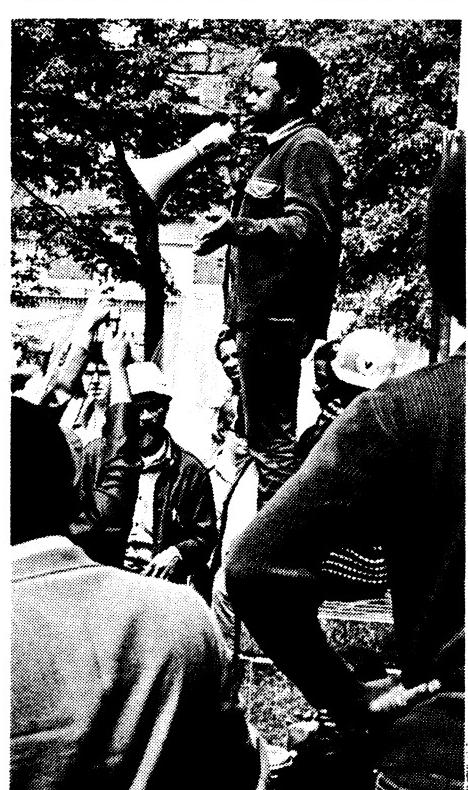
Gonzales emphasized the importance of running an election campaign as a means of reaching masses of people and educating them about the two-party system. He pointed out that in the campaign of Al Gurule, the RUP 1970 gubernatorial candidate, "what he had to say was more important than the votes he got."

Gonzales also singled out the importance of mass demonstrations. He pointed to the September 16, 1971, Mexican independence day demonstration, which mobilized 15,000 Chicanos—20 percent of Denver's Chicano population. He also pointed to the 1970 Chicano moratorium demonstration in Los Angeles and to local antiwar demonstrations in which Chicanos have played a leading role.

Speakers from various areas addressed the conference on local issues that the Raza Unida Party would have to deal with. Delfina García gave a moving description of a struggle for clean drinking water that took place in her small barrio of Salt Creek, three miles outside the city of Pueblo. The area now includes enthusiastic supporters of the RUP.

José Calderón of Greeley, Colo., explained a conflict he had working for the United Farm Workers Union. Union officials told him that if he wanted to organize farm workers he would have to stop attending anti-war demonstrations and cut all ties with the RUP. He explained that he could not continue with the UFW under these conditions. He will now be an organizer for the RUP in northern Colorado.

The meeting voted to hold the next state assembly Aug. 5 in Greeley. That gathering will nominate statewide candidates.



Militant/Shelby Harris

Tyree Scott addresses June 15 rally.

New Yorkers celebrate publication of 'Teamster Rebellion' by Farrell Dobbs

By CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK CITY—On June 16 more than 450 people gathered here for a banquet and program celebrating the publication of the book *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Dobbs was a central leader of the 1934 Teamsters strike in Minneapolis, the topic of the book. This struggle brought the city to the brink of civil war and eventually made Minneapolis a union town. It was one of the militant union struggles that led to the formation of the CIO.

Tom Kerry, a longtime central leader of the SWP, chaired the program. First on the speaker's list was Marvel Scholl, who aided Farrell Dobbs in the preparation of *Teamster Rebellion* and was herself an active participant in the Minneapolis strike.

Marvel Scholl helped organize a women's auxiliary of Teamsters Local 574 to mobilize the wives and friends of strikers in support of the strike. She pointed out how the so-called "women's work" done by the auxiliary was a crucial factor in maintaining the strike. The women's auxiliary ran a hospital for ill or wounded strikers and a commissary that served 5,000 meals a day. It organized distribution of the strike newspaper, *The Organizer*. It also got aid to strikers evicted from their homes or in need of relief.

"Membership in the women's auxiliary changed the lives of these women," Scholl stated. "They were different people. They were no longer just 'the little woman'; they were people."



Part of New York banquet

John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress from New York's 12th C.D. spoke next, linking the role of the Trotskyist movement in the Teamsters strike with the SWP's activities today. "The Socialist Workers Party's 1972 election campaigns embody the same uncompromising loyalty to the interests of the working class as was expressed by the struggle of Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis," he said. "The SWP's message is that of independent struggle by the oppressed and no trust in the ruling class."

This feature of the SWP, said Hawkins, has found a warm response, especially among Black youth, as was demonstrated by campaign tours to Black campuses.

Hawkins was followed by Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Jenness pointed out that *Teamster Rebellion* helps to answer the two most difficult questions raised by radicalizing youth today: 1) Who has the power to change society? and 2) What kind of leadership and organization is needed to make a revolution?

The book shows the tremendous power of the working class, she said, and also the crucial role of the revolutionary party, "which embodies the collective memory of the working class in its struggle for a better world."

Farrell Dobbs, the featured speaker of the evening, opened his remarks with a comment on the significant growth of the SWP as a reflection of the new radicalization of the 1960s and 70s. He said the very existence of the book *Teamster Rebellion* reflected

the development of new leaders of the SWP. The fact that younger leaders have assumed the responsibility of directing the work of the party, he said, has for the first time enabled him to use his time for writing.

Farrell Dobbs went on to discuss the lessons of his book for today. One important generalization that can be drawn from the book, he said, is that no struggle can be built around individuals; that individuals are only significant to the degree that they can carry out a class-struggle program.

Dobbs noted that the Communist League of America, forerunner of the



Farrell Dobbs

Militant/Flax Hermes

and National Guard. He noted the foolishness of the slogan "pick up the gun" as used by small groups of revolutionists around the world today. "An isolated vanguard cannot win against the cops," he said; "you've got to have a force comparable to the situation."

"In the Minneapolis strike," said Dobbs, "we had an army of workers, plus the sympathy of most of the city. But the union still did not give up the advantage of taking a defensive posture." He explained that unarmed picket lines and demonstrations, in this instance, were useful in demonstrating clearly that the source of the violence was the cops and the agents of the bosses.

In concluding, Dobbs commented again on the growth of the SWP. He predicted that in future years "The SWP is going to put on a struggle that will make Minneapolis look like a dress rehearsal."

A fund appeal by Tom Kerry brought in contributions totaling \$1,576, which will be divided between the SWP national campaign committee and the New York SWP local campaigns.

Guests at the banquet included two members of Gensuiken, a Japanese peace organization, who were in this country to encourage antiwar demonstrations on the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Aug. 6-9. Leaders of the antiwar movement and many trade unionists were also present. Sixty-six autographed copies of *Teamster Rebellion* were sold during the evening.

As far as anyone could remember, the banquet was the largest ever hosted by the Socialist Workers Party.

Teamster Rebellion

by Farrell Dobbs/\$2.25 paper; \$6.95 cloth.

A Monad Press Book. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The National Picket Line

FITZSIMMONS AND THE LABOR FOR PEACE CONFERENCE: A recent statement by Teamsters union President Frank Fitzsimmons revealed what can result from "playing the game" of capitalist politics. The statement concerned the Labor for Peace conference scheduled for June 23-24 at the Teamsters Joint Council Auditorium in St. Louis, Mo.

In the June issue of the union's official publication, *The International Teamster*, Fitzsimmons publicly dissociated himself from the effort to organize a union-sponsored antiwar organization. While recognizing that two international union vice-presidents—Harold J. Gibbons and Einar O. Mohn—were listed as sponsors of the conference, Fitzsimmons declared, "they do so as private citizens and not as representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters."

"The position of the International Union is that the Nixon Administration is at work full time, through informed channels and with the best foreign policy advice available. It is also the position of the International Union that peace will more quickly be achieved if left to President Nixon and his staff," Fitzsimmons decreed.

Contrast this statement with one by Fitzsimmons in *The International Teamster* three years ago. The following is what Fitzsimmons said at the founding conference of the now-defunct Alliance for Labor Action (ALA): "We find the youth of

the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home. This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican Administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon."

Much has changed in the three-year interval between these statements. But the unpopular war in Vietnam has not been stopped and the amount spent for military purposes continues to increase. In an attempt to drive down wages, the government has imposed wage controls and set up a Pay Board. Although this business-dominated board originally included five labor officials, only Fitzsimmons remains.

Thus, one of the things that appears to have changed most is Fitzsimmons. This change, however, is more apparent than real. Fitzsimmons, like all other top bureaucrats in the union movement, is deeply mired in the two parties of the employers.

But the group of local union presidents and business agents closest to former Teamster president James Hoffa was never drawn very deeply into the vote-catching coalition around the Democratic Party. Fitzsimmons was one of them. These Teamster officials were more inclined to try to play the Republicans for small favors in exchange for endorsement at election time, which they con-

sidered of little consequence.

The consequences are greater than Fitzsimmons knew. He is now in the awkward position of having to support Nixon as the payoff for Hoffa's release from prison last year. That's why Fitzsimmons's pronouncements now about the war in Southeast Asia, the economy, or the official position of the Teamsters union on these and other issues are all designed to promote the reelection of Nixon. This comes under the heading of "rewarding friends" in the camp of the class enemy, whether they are Republicans or Democrats.

Gibbons and Mohn, however, fear that support to Nixon and the Vietnam war in the 1972 elections will create too wide a gap between the union officialdom and the sentiments of the rank-and-file membership.

Early last year Gibbons opened the pages of the *Missouri Teamster* for a public discussion of the Vietnam war by union members. The response showed deep antiwar sentiment among the members. This mood is also reflected by the fact that Fitzsimmons has been booed at Teamster meetings. He was also booed and jeered recently when he tried to defend Nixon at the Service Employees International Union convention in San Francisco.

It is concern with this antiwar sentiment of American working people that will bring officials of many of the most powerful unions to the Labor for Peace Assembly.

—FRANK LOVELL

By TONY THOMAS

QUEBEC, Quebec, June 17.—Should the trade-union movement in Quebec move in the direction of gaining control of political power in Quebec? Should the unions continue their support to a socialist and independentist solution to the problems of the Quebec people? These were the questions posed at the national convention of the CSN (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions), which ended here today.

Quebecois workers have passed through an important radicalizing experience during the last nine months, since the struggles in support of the striking *La Presse* newspaper workers last fall. All of the major trade-union federations have come out in favor of a socialist transformation of Quebec and for support to the Quebecois national struggle.

The CSN and the two other trade-union federations here, the FTQ (Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—Quebec Federation of Labor, affiliated with the Canadian Labor Congress and the AFL-CIO) and the CEQ (Corporation des Enseignants du Québec—Quebec Teachers Corporation), formed a united front to wage a strike in the public sector here last winter and spring.

When the government invoked strike-breaking legislation and imprisoned CSN President Marcel Pepin and the leaders of the other two federations, a massive general strike broke out in May. Throughout Quebec, factories, radio and television stations, and in a few areas, whole towns were occupied by the workers. Tens of thousands stayed on strike until Pepin and the other leaders were freed and better terms given to the public workers.

Shortly before the convention here, there was a split from the CSN of unions representing about 40,000 workers, principally in the textile, clothing, building, and metal industries. The new federation, called the CSD (Confédération des Syndicats Démocratiques—Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions), has denounced the CSN for being "too political," and for being led by campus-based "subversives." However, more than 200,000 unionists remained in the CSN.

The convention was the largest in the CSN's history, with more than 1,500 delegates and 1,000 visitors attending. For most, it was their first CSN convention.

Pepin's "moral report," given on June 11, was a militant attack on the subservience to U.S. imperialism of the Canadian federal government and the Quebec provincial government.

The consequences of this policy for Quebec are "unemployment, factory shutdowns, layoffs, poverty, and suffering for a considerable sector of the population," he said. "Neither Ottawa nor Quebec safeguards our heritage, our rights, or our interests; but rather protects, and almost exclusively, the rights and interests of one class—the investors' class—and with no qualms about granting them exorbitant privileges and throwing in our natural resources."

Pepin told the convention that the confederation should continue its struggle against capitalism in Quebec. The principal target, he said, should be the Quebec Liberal Party, led by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa.

Pepin described the Bourassa government as "a regime that functions on American money on one hand and the Canadian army on the other," a regime that has "decided to accept, without a struggle, the fact that Quebec is an economic colony of the United States and a political colony of Ottawa."

He proposed that "people's committees" be established in each electoral

district as the means to oust Bourassa. "The committees," he reported, "would bring together the members of the three parent labor unions [the CSN, CEQ, and FTQ]. . . ." It would be up to each committee "to decide either to support a candidate who is running or to propose one. However . . . the committees will fight against any candidate of the Liberal Party."

Pepin said, "The formal endorsement by the candidate of the economic and social positions of the three parent unions, but more particularly, the formal condemnation of capitalism and economic liberalism," would be the basis for endorsement of any candidate. Pepin said the committees would be permanent and independently financed. This proposal implicitly posed the idea of independent political action by the Quebec workers'

any of the radical economic and political proposals made by the CSN and other Quebecois. It also pointed out that all aspects of the lives of the Quebecois workers were affected by Canadian and American colonialism in Quebec. An even more militant resolution on this question was submitted by the Montreal Central Council of the CSN.

The main debate at the convention was on Pepin's proposals for "people's committees." This question was so extensively discussed by the delegates in workshops and plenaries during the first few days of the convention that there was not time for a full discussion of the report of the "Twelve," or other political resolutions.

The committees have the potential of turning the CSN and the rest of

people's committees was that unions should not get involved in politics. They should concern themselves solely with union matters. However, several delegates stated that they opposed the people's committees because they supported one or another of Quebec's parties.

Others said that the membership of the CSN was probably not ready for this proposal since it hadn't been made public until Pepin's speech. Still others said the unions "should organize all of the workers first, then go into politics. Until we've done that, we've not got our job done."

However, the great majority thought that it was absolutely necessary for the union movement to engage in political action. One delegate said that every time the CSN, which includes many government workers, negotiates a contract for public employees, "that's politics."

A delegate from Thetford Mines, where some of the most explosive developments took place during May, pointed out that during the strike the government sent in hundreds of police to fight the unions, and that the political powerlessness of the unions prevented the workers from stopping them. He said the people's committees were needed, as well as economic strikes, "to fight the government and to gain workers' rights in strikes and other struggles."

Another delegate said, "How can we fight for workers' committees on the one hand and support political parties that don't support workers in struggle on the other?" This delegate proposed that the resolution be amended to call for opposition to all political parties that are against the interests of workers, not just the Liberal Party.

A number of delegates saw the people's committees not solely as the means for strengthening the union's hands in its economic struggles but as a way for the union movement to take up the broader social issues. A delegate pointed out that things affect workers "far beyond the immediate field of the unions."

"Medicaid in Quebec," he pointed out, "has been resisted by the doctors and the political powers that work with them. Big areas of our land are being grabbed by big firms. Education is controlled by enemies of working people, and people in the universities are not educated to understand the problems of the Quebec workers but to the views of the minority in power. To raise our members' standard of living, we have to fight against those things too."

In addition to the amendment calling for opposition to all parties, several other significant amendments were passed.

One of these called for the condemnation of "Marxism" in addition to capitalism and "economic liberalism." The delegates who proposed this position saw it as a condemnation of lack of workers' rights in the "Marxist" countries of Eastern Europe. However, it provides a pretext for red-baiting within the people's committees and the union movement.

The importance of the CSN convention and the issues discussed there cannot be overestimated. It means that the Quebec labor movement is moving closer to taking the leadership of all the social struggles of Quebec, above all the national struggle, through these committees of action.

It has intensified the process of discussion on the question of the workers' role in politics and puts into question continued working-class support to the Parti Quebecois and other capitalist parties here. It may be the first attempt in a process that could lead to the formation of a Quebecois labor party mobilizing the power of the Quebec working class to fight for independence and socialism.

Political role of working class debated at Quebec labor convention



Some of the delegates to the CSN convention

movement, since all the political parties have been hostile to the workers' movement.

Coupled with Pepin's report, an important report on social strategy was presented by a group of CSN leaders known as the "Committee of Twelve." It reaffirmed the socialist and Quebecois nationalist positions taken by the union leadership in the past. The document of the "Twelve" called for rejection of capitalism and its replacement with complete nationalization and workers control of Quebec's economic structure.

Equally significant, the document underlined the necessity of the confederation's taking a firmer position on the question of national independence for Quebec. The document pointed out that the Canadian government would try to prevent the adoption of

the Quebecois labor movement toward intervention in Quebec politics on all the broad social issues on the basis of its new political positions. The committees clearly pose the possibility of a political break of the Quebec workers from supporting the capitalist parties of Quebec, especially the Parti Quebecois (PQ), which has enjoyed broad support from Quebec workers. They also pose the possibility of the formation of an independent workers party in Quebec, although Pepin opposes such a party at this time.

An overwhelming majority of delegates favored Pepin's report, although the discussion showed that there was a significant opposition to the report and that many who supported it had questions about the role of the people's committees.

The chief line of opposition to the

SWP election campaign slandered

Communist Party for McGovern

By DOUG JENNESS

When the Socialist Workers Party candidates say they are against capitalism and its parties and stand for a socialist society, most people take them at their word, even if they don't agree with them.

But no matter how clearly the SWP speakers present their positions, there are those who come along behind and try to say they mean something else. Among the experts at deliberately creating this kind of confusion are the liars, word-twisters, and innuendo-specialists of the Communist Party.

A recent example is two articles that appeared in the *Daily World*, the national voice of the CP. The articles are entitled: "Youth told of Trotskyite help to Wallace and Nixon" (June 3) and "The Trotskyites vs. the people" (June 10).

The first article is the second part of a report on the Young Workers

istence." For example, it has failed to consistently defend the Vietnamese revolution and has put considerable pressure on the North Vietnamese to come to terms with Washington.

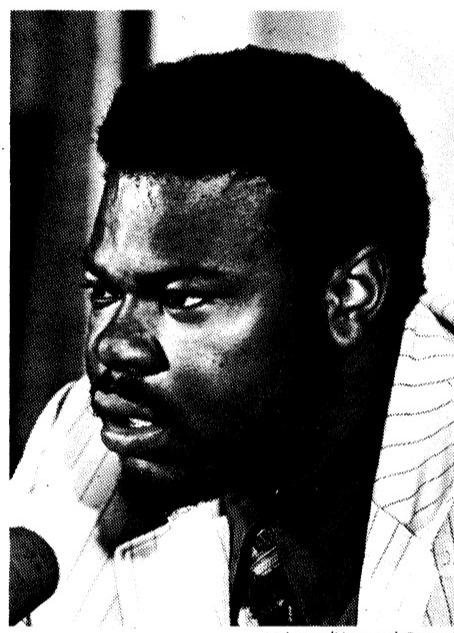
The CPUSA, taking their cue from this class-collaborationist policy, has tried to cover up Moscow's treachery in Vietnam. It also helps to pressure the "progressive" section of the American capitalist class to establish better relations with the Soviet Union.

This, of course, determines the CP's general line toward political questions in the U.S., including the elections. Ristorucci, in attacking the SWP for anti-Sovietism, was setting the stage for opening up on the SWP's election policy.

According to the *World*, Ristorucci "contended that [the] SWP only helps Wallace and Nixon by its policies of placing the main attack against lib-



Militant/Ed Weaver



Militant/Howard Petrick

Socialist Workers Party candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley are running a hard-hitting socialist campaign. Their exposure of all Democratic Party candidates has angered the Communist Party.

Liberation League convention held in May. After indicating that Roque Ristorucci presented the major report on the elections, the article gloats that "One of the best received parts of the report was Ristorucci's contrast between the CP-YWLL ticket and the ticket of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance."

Let's hear why Ristorucci, according to the *Daily World* reporter, received such a good response. Asserting that the SWP has a 'strange brand of socialism,' Ristorucci charged that the SWP is 'not ideologically independent of the ruling class' because they both are anti-Soviet."

This is a lie. The SWP unconditionally defends the Soviet Union from all attacks by imperialism. It considers the nationalized and planned economy in that country to be progressive. It opposes any attempts by imperialist countries to reinstitute capitalism. But that's not enough for Ristorucci. Since the SWP refuses to bow down before the CP's gurus in the Kremlin and to pay homage to their twists and turns, it must be tied up with the capitalist class. It doesn't matter that the SWP never supports capitalist candidates, that it helps organize demonstrations against the policies of the capitalist government, and that it defends the USSR.

Ristorucci has raised the issue of the SWP's view of the Soviet officialdom because for the CP that's where politics begins.

The Soviet bureaucracy attempts to make deals with imperialism on the basis of establishing "peaceful coex-

eral candidates like Abzug, Dellums, Chisholm and McGovern in an attempt to narrow the people's choice to themselves and Wallace.

"They put out a truth kit on McGovern, whom they see only as an obstacle, but not on Wallace," he noted.

By reading this account you'd think that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the SWP's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, and the more than 90 local SWP candidates rarely attack Nixon and Wallace. But there are hundreds of thousands of people who have heard the SWP candidates and can testify that Ristorucci is not telling the truth.

The SWP candidates have opposed every new attack by President Nixon on American workers and oppressed people around the world. The *Militant*, in fact, has prominently featured many of these statements and will continue to do so.

SWP candidates have sharply criticized Wallace's racist demagogic as well.

Why does Ristorucci make such false claims? Is he ignorant of where the SWP candidates stand? I doubt it.

What's bugging him is not that the SWP places its "main attack against liberal candidates," as he falsely asserts, but that it opposes these liberals at all. By reading the *Daily World* one quickly sees that the CP is furiously beating the drums for McGovern. "But how can that be?" someone might ask. "The CP is running its own presidential ticket."

If you were to ask YWLL or CP

members whether they support McGovern, they very likely would say they don't. In fact, when their presidential candidate, Gus Hall, was asked about this in Michigan a couple of weeks ago, he said, "George McGovern takes a more forthright position on some issues though he is weak on the fight against racism and softens on fighting U.S. aggression in Vietnam. We do not support him."

It's time to ask Hall a few questions. If you don't support McGovern, why does the daily newspaper reflecting your views carry one favorable article after another about his campaign? Why haven't there been any articles analyzing the role McGovern has played in helping to demobilize the antiwar movement? Why doesn't it explain that his policies, based on supporting the capitalist system, cannot solve the problems of this country any more than those of a Nixon or a Wallace?

What Gus Hall or any other CP member says about not supporting McGovern isn't worth a plugged nickel because it doesn't represent the policy the party is actually carrying out. The CP distorters lie about themselves as well as about the SWP.

Ristorucci also got himself worked up about the SWP's truth kit on McGovern. Now if it were true that the CP doesn't support McGovern, as Hall claims, why is Ristorucci upset about publishing the truth about him?

McGovern is presently the main contender for the nomination of the Democratic Party, one of the capitalist parties. Many people active in the movements for social change have illusions about him. They believe he can change the country if he is elected. It would seem, then, that a party that calls itself communist and says it opposes McGovern would want to help overcome these illusions. But not the CP. They've assigned themselves a different task.

The first part of the article about the YWLL convention (*Daily World*, June 2) quotes Ristorucci as saying "that the League should understand that McGovern's base includes many independent youth. We should not say that there is no difference between McGovern and Humphrey-Wallace, he said, referring to the Socialist Workers Party, which lumps all these candidates together. We must 'show McGovern's limitations, and the need to build independent formations to keep a McGovern 'honest'" he asserted.

There it is. The job of the CP is to try to keep McGovern "honest," not to expose him.

It should be noted here that Ristorucci managed to slip in another falsehood. It's not true that the SWP says there is no difference between the various capitalist candidates. "The passing differences that crop up among the politicians of the two capitalist parties," the SWP election platform states, "reflect tactical differences over how best to maintain capitalist rule or factional squabbles over control of the pork barrel of government patronage." What the CP can't swallow is the platform's assertion that "There is no fundamental difference between the Democrats and the Republicans—they are both committed to preserving capitalist exploitation." (Emphasis added.)

While the CP candidates help promote a campaign to support McGovern and keep him "honest," the SWP ticket is carrying out the most extensive socialist campaign against the capitalist candidates in several decades. No amount of CP mud can cover up this fact.

Gus Hall: McGovern is honest

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Gus Hall, the 61-year-old presidential candidate of the U.S. Communist Party, spoke to a meeting for Angela Davis held here June 6.

Hall devoted the bulk of his remarks before the audience of about 150 persons to what he called the "false propaganda" that Nixon's trip to Moscow had involved a Soviet deal on Vietnam. Hall was clearly reacting to extensive criticism being leveled at the welcome Brezhnev accorded the number one U.S. war criminal.

To bolster his authority as someone in the know about U.S.-Soviet relations, he reminded the meeting that he had been in Moscow during Kissinger's initial visit: "Kissinger met with them during the day, and I met with them at night," Hall said.

Trying to minimize the importance of the U.S. blockade of North Vietnam, Hall said "the harbors are not of daily necessity." Furthermore, he asserted, the Vietnamese have stockpiled extremely sophisticated weaponry that they have not yet used. However, if the Vietnamese should need weapons beyond what they have stockpiled, Hall said, "There is no question in my mind that the Soviet Union would deliver those goods even if it means a confrontation."

Turning to the domestic scene, Hall contrasted the Democratic contenders in the California primary race that was going on as he spoke. He called Humphrey "the slipperiest of all the eels that have entered the political arena." McGovern, on the other hand, Hall called "an honest man."

McGovern, Hall said, "says he'll end the war. And I think he will. I think we can rely on him if there is a movement."

When he was called upon to answer questions from the floor, Hall proved that Humphrey is not the only "slippery eel" in the race. Asked if the Communist Party would withdraw its ticket in the event that the Democrats nominate McGovern, he said "No." His answer was greeted by applause.

However, when he was pressed on the inconsistency of his assertion that defeating Nixon was the top priority and his insistence that the CP would run even against McGovern, he admitted that he was unable to reconcile the contradiction.

"The odd thing about this campaign is that we are asking for votes," Hall said. "I don't know how to ask for votes yet, but I am going to practice."



Gus Hall

By LEE SMITH

The May 19 debate at Columbia University between Carl Davidson of the *Guardian* and Dick Roberts of *The Militant* (reported in the June 2 *Militant*) heard two opposing views of Nixon's trip to China. Jointly sponsored by the Upper West Side Militant Forum and the *Guardian*, and chaired by Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein, the debate was entitled: "Nixon's Trip to China: Defeat for Imperialism or Threat to World Revolution?"

The meeting was prompted by a series of articles in both newsweeklies. Articles in *The Militant* that warned of Peking's desire to make a deal with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the Indochinese revolution had been sharply criticized by the *Guardian* in both signed articles and editorials. *The Militant* had responded to the *Guardian's* criticisms.

antiwar movement." He stated that if the imperialists had faced a united defense of Vietnam by China and the Soviet Union, "the war would never have been launched by Washington" in 1964 when Johnson made the decision to escalate.

Roberts concluded his initial presentation by quoting the Pentagon papers' description of how helpful Chou En-lai had been to the imperialists in pressuring the Viet Minh to give up the fruits of their 1954 victory at Geneva. "Eighteen years of warfare are the result of Geneva. That bloodshed is the result of the sell-out ordered by Moscow and Peking."

"That's what Nixon is after today . . . a new settlement that will give the imperialists a foothold they can't get in warfare. That's why he went to Peking, and that's why he's going to Moscow. And that, it seems to me," Roberts concluded, "is a grave threat to the Vietnamese revolution and con-

countries all over the world are recognizing the Peking government, Davidson said. China now has more potential for trade too, he added. "These are concrete, tangible gains" to aid in China's "socialist construction."

"Even viewed as simply 'China's national interest,'" Davidson declared, "I would assert that the 'national interest' of one-fourth of humanity is something not to be taken lightly or considered illegitimate." These gains, he asserted, "are sufficient alone to claim that imperialism has suffered a defeat in relation to its China policy."

Another sign that the trip was a blow to imperialism, Davidson maintained, is the forces who were opposed to the trip. "Who has been the most nervous and upset?" Davidson asked. He answered—in this order—the Soviet Union, "the Buckley crowd and the most reactionary sections of U.S.

can be seen in the trip itself, Roberts said, focusing on talks between Mao and Nixon, between Henry Kissinger and Chou En-lai.

"Carl's final defense of the Peking position on Pakistan revealed the same thing," Roberts said. "All he asked was what position Peking should have taken to the Awami League. We never said the Awami League would carry out a revolution! In fact," Roberts said, "we argued that it was impossible—which is why Peking should have supported the peasants and workers of Bangladesh!"

Internationalism

The opposite of the bourgeois and bureaucratic outlook, Roberts said, is "revolutionary internationalism, first codified by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*. Marxists view the most important component of history to be the mighty class force of the oppressed, not just in one country



Dick Roberts Militant/Dave Warren



Carl Davidson Militant/Howard Petrick

New York debate Was Nixon's trip to Peking a defeat for imperialism?

Roberts began his presentation by stating that the war in Vietnam is the "overshadowing question in world politics today." Victory for the Vietnamese revolution, Roberts said, "will be a big spur to revolution everywhere, including here in the United States."

Peking's foreign policy is "closely related to the fate of the Vietnamese revolution," Roberts stated, now threatened "by bombs on one side and betrayal on the other."

Roberts pointed out that revolutionary socialists are firm supporters and defenders of the Chinese revolution and "what it has accomplished for the Chinese masses and the world's masses." But he distinguished the Maoist regime from the revolution. The *Guardian*, he said, is able to support the trade-union movement without supporting George Meany.

"Unfortunately," Roberts continued, the *Guardian* does not apply the same standard to China—"They do not seem to distinguish between the Chinese revolution and the Maoist regime." He said that the Chinese revolution came to power at the head of a mass upsurge, but "the outlook of the Peking rulers does not correspond to this momentous revolutionary achievement."

The Maoists "have no confidence in the masses of the oppressed," he declared. "They look toward deals with the neocolonial bourgeoisie and with the imperialists themselves. That is the essence of peaceful coexistence: 'You leave us alone and we'll leave you alone.'

"It is the failure of the *Guardian* to come to grips with Stalinism," Roberts said, "with Mao's foreign policy of peaceful coexistence, that is the source of their untenable position on Nixon's China trip."

Quoting from the Pentagon papers, Roberts pointed out that the step-by-step escalation of the Vietnam war by Washington "has been a probing of the response to this murder by Moscow and Peking, as well as by the

subsequently a grave threat to the world working class."

Davidson began by saying that he believed the fundamental reason that Nixon's trip to China represented a defeat for imperialism was that it was a de facto recognition of the government of the Chinese People's Republic. This was "a step completely contrary to U.S. cold-war policy of the last 20 years, a policy that Nixon helped to formulate."

For years, Davidson said, "China has been ringed with U.S. military bases, threatened with invasion during the Korean war, quarantined diplomatically and economically. Armed provocations have been carried out against its territory, it's had one of

capitalism," Japan, Taiwan, Lon Nol, Thieu, and South Korea's Park Chung Hee.

"When a lineup like this indicates opposition to some event," Davidson said, "I'm almost automatically inclined to think that it must be a good thing. And I think it is a good thing."

Davidson then charged that Roberts' view that the Chinese regime is totalitarian is a "slander" that makes the *Guardian* "long for the old China lobby" in comparison.

Peking and Pakistan

Davidson openly apologized for Peking's aid to Pakistan, making an amalgam of the Awami League leadership and the revolutionary Bengali masses. He asserted that the independence struggle in Bangladesh was merely a cover for "Indian expansion."

Davidson said he did not share the Peking leadership's estimation that capitalism has already been restored in the Soviet Union, but he believed it was well on the way because Khrushchev had proclaimed that the government was "no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat." He finished by charging that the call, supported by the Socialist Workers Party, for a political revolution against the bureaucracy in China was the same thing as the imperialist aim of restoring capitalism.

Roberts, after naming Davidson's final remark a slander, said he wanted "to approach the question slightly differently than we have so far." He discussed "the difference between revolutionary internationalism and Maoism."

There are "fundamentally two ways of looking at world events," Roberts said, "corresponding to the two opposing class forces." The bourgeois viewpoint "concentrates on the governments involved, on big-power diplomacy, on the individual leaders of governments." That is also the viewpoint of Moscow and Peking. This

but internationally. The clarion call of Marxism is 'Workers of the world unite!'

Marx and Engels not only wrote the texts that formed the central ideas of revolutionary socialism, Roberts said, but they worked to build the First International to unite concretely the worldwide struggle of the oppressed for emancipation from capitalism.

"The war in Vietnam," Roberts continued, "is not just a war involving the United States and the opposing camps in Vietnam. It is a war involving international class forces." Yet, "There is today no revolutionary international that can in fact unite the workers of the world in defense of Vietnam."

"It does not exist because of the treacherous policies of peaceful coexistence carried out by Moscow and Peking. In 1943 Stalin buried the Third International founded by Lenin" as part of the war-time alliance with Roosevelt and Churchill.

Mao, Roberts said, "never sought to rebuild the Third International. He never criticized what Stalin did. And he helped to eliminate from China to the degree possible the Trotskyist forces who dared stand up and declare the need for a Fourth International. There is no Maoist international and no semblance of an internationalist viewpoint emanating from Peking."

It is for this reason that the international movement to oppose U.S. aggression in Vietnam has emerged independently of and sometimes in opposition to the Maoist and pro-Moscow Communist parties.

The organization on a world scale that best represents the revolutionary thrust of these struggles and projects a program to help build them, Roberts concluded, is the Fourth International. It is carrying out the Marxist tradition of internationalism abandoned by Moscow with the rise of Stalinism and never followed in Peking.



Nixon and Mao

its provinces occupied, it's had all sorts of clandestine attempts to undermine and subvert its leadership.

"And," Davidson continued, "China has been branded as a pariah in the eyes of the American people, as a yellow horde of blue-clad ants, moaning and starving under a ruthless, godless tyranny."

But now, he said, China has come to occupy "its rightful seat in the United Nations and the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been bounced out on its ear, putting to rest once and for all the 'Two-China' ploy."

In Review

Books Exploding myths about JFK



Cold War and Counterrevolution: The Foreign Policy of John F. Kennedy. by Richard J. Walton. Viking Press. New York, 1972. 250 pp. \$7.95.

This book is an addition to the growing list of works by the so-called revisionist historians. The "revisionists" are mostly younger scholars and writers who are investigating American foreign policy since World War II. Their "revisionism" consists of a challenge to those historians who have tried to defend American foreign policy in the cold-war era.

Cold War and Counterrevolution is

confined to the administration of John F. Kennedy. Although Kennedy's term in office lasted less than three years, from January 1961 to November 1963, this period was crowded with both military conflicts, in which the United States played a role, and critical situations—some of which threatened to unleash an atomic third world war.

The most prominent of these crises were the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (April 1961), the Berlin crisis (August 1961), the Cuban missile crisis (October 1962), and the sharp increase in U.S. intervention in Vietnam (1963).

Walton's judgment of Kennedy is

harsh: "The record seems clear. Whatever his achievements in less significant areas, whatever he might have done later, John F. Kennedy as President was Cold Warrior and counterrevolutionary. Cuba, Berlin, Vietnam—those are his monuments."

Walton has done a good job in detailing the facts about Kennedy's "monuments." Kennedy inherited the Bay of Pigs invasion from the Eisenhower administration, which recruited and trained Cuban exiles for this ill-starred adventure. However, as Walton indicates, the responsibility rests with Kennedy—he had the opportunity to call off the attempt to overthrow the Castro regime but failed to do so.

After the Cubans repulsed the invasion and arrested the bulk of the invading force, Kennedy discussed the results before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He said, "we made it repeatedly clear that the armed forces of this country would not intervene in any way."

"Any unilateral American intervention, in the absence of an external attack upon ourselves or an ally, would have been contrary to our traditions and to our international obligations."

This statement, says Walton, "stretches the truth beyond the breaking point." He goes on to remind the reader that the would-be invaders used American military equipment, were trained by Americans, and were flown in on American planes with American pilots. Moreover, U.S. ships, frogmen, and naval units took part in the fighting, which resulted in the deaths of some Americans.

The author correctly calls attention to Kennedy's false claim that American intervention in Latin America is contrary to U.S. tradition. Just the opposite is the case.

In the Berlin crisis Walton argues that it was Kennedy's refusal to compromise that converted the conflict into a potential nuclear war. In the author's opinion, the problem could have been resolved through negotiations.

It was this crisis that triggered the boom in backyard bomb shelters all over the United States. This in turn brought on a debate as to whether it was morally justified for occupants of such a shelter to shoot any of their

tion of the Québec nation.

The third section, in general terms, points the way to Québec labor. "The fundamental cause of this state of things is simple: *the workers do not own the factories in which they work*. Therefore, the workers must gain control of those industries. Then the solution may begin." (Emphasis in original.)

"An economy dominated by workers could only be socialist. . . . The field in which the working class could neutralize the American giant is that of socialism."

It's not every day that a trade union the size of the CSN opts for socialism. The fact that it was a Québécois union simply points out the leadership role the Québec workers, who are oppressed both as Québécois and as workers, can play in the labor movement in Canada.

Moreover, by charting a determined course against the Anglo-Canadian and American capitalists who profit from the oppression of Québec, the document points in the direction of the Québec labor movement's taking

neighbors who, lacking one of their own, might try to enter.

The most serious threat of a nuclear war resulted from the Cuban missile crisis. Walton writes, "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that, as with Berlin, he [Kennedy] deliberately built up the crisis, possibly to influence the elections, possibly to force the showdown with Khrushchev that he had long thought might be necessary."

Kennedy's policy in Vietnam was directed toward increasing intervention in that country. When he took office there were 500 to 600 American "advisers" in Vietnam, sent by Eisenhower. Kennedy increased this figure to around 13,000, including Green Berets and other combat units. Kennedy, no less than Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon, committed the U.S. to the attempt to suppress the Vietnamese revolution.

Walton's book is valuable for putting all the facts of Kennedy's foreign policy together in a more truthful manner than the late president's supporters and associates have done. But it has one very important shortcoming.

If it is true, as the author proves, that Kennedy was a cold warrior in line with Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon, then must there not be some single, overall reason for this continuity? The reader is left with the impression that the obsessive anti-communism of five presidents, three Democrats and two Republicans, can be attributed to psychological reactions and not to political and economic causes.

However, the real reasons for the foreign policy of Kennedy and the other presidents can be traced to the needs of American imperialist interests. These interests require the kind of intervention in the affairs of other peoples that Walton describes very well in his book. It is only necessary to go one step further and ask why. The answer is given in American capitalism's aim to dominate as much of the world as it can.

Despite this and some minor shortcomings, Walton's book should be read by all those who are interested in what really happened during the Kennedy years in the White House.

—MILTON ALVIN

Quebec union manifesto

Quebec Labour, the Confederation of National Trade Unions: Yesterday and Today. Black Rose Books. Montreal, 1972. \$2.95 paper. \$7.95 cloth.

This book appeared in English in April, just a month before the workers' upsurge that shook the teeth of capitalism in Québec. It presents a vivid picture of the militancy of the Québécois trade-union movement and its socialist and nationalist direction.

The main document in this collection, entitled "Ne comptons que sur nos propres moyens" (Let's count only on our own means), was drafted in October 1971 by the confederal council of the Confederation of National

Trade Unions (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—CSN), which has a membership of 200,000, one third of the organized workers in Québec.

Divided into four sections, the first section of the book deals with the role of capitalism and U.S. imperialism in Québec. The CSN document begins on a stable first floor—that there is a class struggle in Québec. The Woodcocks and the Meanys of this country would faint before saying anything of a similar nature.

With charts, statistics, and concrete examples, the document clearly explains how Québec working people are exploited by both Canadian capitalism and U.S. imperialism. Both the federal and provincial governments are attacked for being tools of foreign (i.e., U.S.) exploitation of Québec.

The second section analyzes the failure of the "Quiet Revolution," the attempt by the Liberal Party (one of Canada's two main capitalist parties, currently in power in Québec and Canada) to develop industry in Québec. It shows how the "Quiet Revolution" increased imperialist penetra-

the leadership in the struggle for national independence. It states, "It's by calculated nationalism that the working class can reorient production according to its needs."

The fourth section, entitled "How to get there," calls for involvement in direct political action, although not specifying around what concrete political issues. The document's analysis of Anglo-Canadian and U.S. oppression points to the independence of Québec and the preservation of the rights of the French-speaking majority as the central political issues.

The recent strikes in Québec have shown that all of the traditional capitalist political forces, including the nationalist-capitalist Parti Québécois, are hostile to any mass struggle in the interests of the Québécois nation. The new wave of radicalism in the Québec labor movement poses the potential of a new force in Québec politics: the Québécois labor movement organized in its own political party to fight for national independence by putting the workers in power.

—ERNIE HARSCH

...miners

Continued from page 24

the union will serve only to further weaken the union and hinder the fight for democracy within it.

The Labor Department immediately assumed the authority under Judge Bryant's order to announce that nominating meetings will be held in the UMW from early July to about the second week of August.

The offices to be filled are international president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, three international tellers (who are responsible for counting votes in elections under the UMW constitution), and three international auditors (who are accountable for union funds).

The corrupt gang of union officials headed by incumbent UMW President W.A. (Tony) Boyle is expected to nominate candidates for all offices. Boyle is awaiting sentencing on conviction of 13 conspiracy counts of misusing nearly \$50,000 in union funds for political campaigns, including that of Hubert H. Humphrey in the 1968 presidential election. He may not be a candidate in the union election this time.

Boyle and his entire slate declared themselves the winners in the 1969 union election. Their opposing slate, headed by Joseph A. (Jock) Yablonski, charged the Boyle group with unfair and illegal activities and petitioned the Labor Department to intervene.

Yablonski, his wife, and his daughter were murdered at their Clarksville, Pa., home less than a month after the union election. Several UMW officials have since been indicted for the murders.

For the new court-ordered election, Miners For Democracy nominated the following candidates at their May convention: for UMW president, Arnold Miller, 49, chairman of the seven-state Black Lung Association and himself a victim of black lung (Miller was Yablonski's campaign manager in the southern coal fields three years ago); for vice-president, Mike Trbovich, 51, MFD chairman; for secretary-treasurer, Harry Patrick, 41, a coal miner for 18 years and national co-chairman of MFD.

The MFD candidates for UMW tellers are Dallas Hutchinson, George Kollar, and Fred Merrin. For UMW auditors the MFD picked Ted Bertz, John Centrich, and Charles Washlack. All have worked long years in the mines and have served as local union officials or in higher posts. Kollar is running for reelection as an international teller.

This slate will be tested during the July-August UMW nomination period. A weakness of the slate is the absence of any Blacks as candidates for the top posts.

Attorney Joseph L. Rauh, who represents the MFD in court actions, expressed satisfaction with Judge Bryant's order, despite the fact that the Labor Department has never shown sympathy for the miners' cause. Its indifference to the petitions of Jock Yablonski in the 1969 UMW election revealed the government's strong bias for the Boyle machine.

The platform of MFD, printed in the June issue of *Miner's Voice*, lists, among other points, the demands to reduce the salaries of international officers, to move the headquarters of the international from Washington to the coal fields, and to establish "full autonomy in every district." It makes no mention of the right of every miner to vote on the contract with the mine owners that governs working conditions.

The list of 16 "platform highlights" submitted by MFD in the coming election also fails to mention the danger of government intervention in the affairs of the union.

The threat of government control over the UMW can be warded off

only by an aroused membership. UMW members are sure to become aware of that danger soon, possibly before the December election. The miners in MFD who seek to win control of their union would do well to warn of that danger now and organize their own contingents to fight against it. The U.S. Department of Labor is no friend of the miners.

...abortion

Continued from page 9

non-SWP women identify themselves was a good example of red-baiting. She implies in her letter that SWP women are somehow not legitimate members of WONAAC because they share a common political perspective.

If they are allowed to participate in votes, she reasons, it is a "travesty of democracy." She even goes so far as to say the vote that defeated this proposal did not represent the opinion of the body because SWP women were voting.

Weber implies that SWP women should have some kind of second-class status within WONAAC. Perhaps they should be given one-half vote each, or maybe no votes at all? What about the women who are not members of the SWP, but who also favor mass action? Are they allowed to agree with the SWP, or should they too be singled out for special treatment?

The logic of these types of exclusionary measures is obvious. Once WONAAC begins to place restrictions on the rights of any one group of women, where does the process stop? Who decides which women are members and which are not?

If red-baiting is allowed to dominate the proceedings in WONAAC, the organization will be destroyed. This is exactly what our enemies—the government and the Catholic Church hierarchy—would like to see happen. In fact, red-baiting is a practice that originates with the government.

The McCarthy period of the 1950s gives a good example of the effect red-baiting produces. At that time, the government whipped up an hysterical campaign around charges of "red plots" and "infiltration." The campaign was designed to isolate radicals, to intimidate other people from becoming involved in political struggle, and to spread distrust within radical organizations.

Faced with the threat of today's right wing, the problem is not to figure out who should be excluded from WONAAC. Instead, what we have to do is involve the largest number of women—in spite of their political differences on other questions—around the issue all sections of the movement agree on: repeal of the abortion laws. This is the real issue before the WONAAC conference scheduled for July 15-16 in New York City.

It is essential that this conference seriously consider all the alternative proposals for how to continue and expand the fight for the right to abortion. This can only happen through a free and democratic discussion of the political issues, where every woman has the right to express her ideas and participate in making the decisions.

D.C.

Continued from page 5

16 news conference and statement. Hobson said the statement's signers were "a front group for his [Fauntroy's] political tightening-up of the city."

Hobson said Fauntroy was opposing street demonstrations between now and the November elections in exchange for congressional support for D.C. home rule. In response to Dellinger's admission of "racism," made at a June 19 news conference, Hobson said that he had known Dellin-

ger for years, that he knew Dellinger was not a racist, and that such behavior harmed the peace movement.

National Peace Action Coalition coordinator Jerry Gordon, Student Mobilization Committee Black Task Force coordinator Sam Manuel, and Black community leader Willie Hardy spoke at a news conference here June 20.

Gordon said: "We reaffirm today what we have said since the inception of NPAC and the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition. The Vietnam war is a racist war. . . . It is a war in which Black and Brown Americans have paid and continue to pay an exorbitant and disproportionate price with respect to their numbers killed and wounded."

Manuel said: "We who are serious about ending the war must unite everyone opposed to the war, regardless of their views on other issues, in a fight against the war that threatens all of us."

Willie Hardy asserted that Barry and the others don't represent the entire Black community and pointed to Fauntroy as the inspirer of the charges. She announced her intention to exercise her right to demonstrate on June 22 and in future actions. She commented on the fact that there was no outcry from these people when the Reverend Carl McIntire organized a right-wing action in D.C. recently.

John T. Williams, a Black trade unionist and a national coordinator of NPAC, issued a statement, which said in part:

"I am shocked and disturbed that a group of Black spokespeople condemn the antiwar movement as a racist organization.

"It is not the antiwar movement which is draining the blood of Black youth and investing our communities with slums, inferior schools, unemployment, and the most brazen police brutality. It is this unjust war which is the atrocity against humanity. . . .

"It is not the antiwar movement which established a freeze against our wages while the war profiteers danced in the sun. It is this nation's involvement in the war which rides upon the backs of the workers—Black workers, Brown workers, and all other workers.

"To term the antiwar movement as 'racist' only gives aid, comfort, and encouragement to the most violent war forces and racist elements in this country. . . .

"I therefore urge you to join me and join us in uniting our communities in the movement to end the war. We welcome and urge your fullest participation in the struggle to stop the racist, genocidal massacre of the Indochinese peoples. We especially invite you to join in planning a Hiroshima Day antiwar activity scheduled for August 5 in Washington, D.C., and other cities across the country."

Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. nonvoting delegate to Congress, released an open letter to the statement's signers on June 20. Fagg's letter said: "You correctly state that the oppressor abroad is the oppressor in this country. . . . But rather than confront the enemy that wages a war, you attack those who are fighting to end it."

Fagg's letter took up the charge that antiwar demonstrations lead to higher taxes for D.C.'s Black community. "The U.S. government spends 60 cents of every tax dollar to kill people around the globe. The U.S. government is the real criminal, not the antiwar movement. And it is an outrage to say anything else."

"There can be no doubt," Fagg said, "the masses of Black people are and have been opposed to the war. What is needed is a further organization of that massive sentiment into independent actions in the street, like the African Liberation Day demonstrations and the antiwar actions of the Black students of Eastern High School."

Socialist candidate supports marijuana initiative

The following are excerpts from a statement released recently by Socialist Workers Party candidate Bonnie Aptekar concerning the California Marijuana Initiative (CMI), a proposed referendum on the California marijuana laws. Aptekar is running for U.S. Congress from California's 28th C.D.

If adopted, the CMI would eliminate all criminal penalties for persons over 18 for the "planting, cultivating, harvesting, processing, otherwise preparing, transporting, or possessing marijuana for personal use or by reason of that use."

CMI supporters have collected and filed a total of 531,692 signatures on petitions to place this referendum on the state ballot in November. Initially, 325,000 signatures—the exact number required—were filed with county election boards. Of these, 231,000 were ruled valid, falling short of the state requirement. On June 19, CMI supporters filed another 206,692 signatures, thus making it almost certain that the initiative will be on the ballot. The secretary of state's office will make a final decision on June 29.

I support the California Marijuana Initiative (CMI).

Medical research from individual researchers through the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse has to date shown that marijuana has no more harmful effects than such drugs as tobacco, alcohol, barbiturates (downers) or amphetamines (uppers), and cannot be equated with hard drugs like heroin.



Bonnie Aptekar

Despite an important contradiction in the California Marijuana Initiative, in not legalizing the sale of marijuana, I believe that the decriminalization of marijuana possession will remove an important control the state now wields over the lives of many individuals. I favor the lifting of all criminal penalties for drug possession and use, for these penalties serve definite social interests.

The arrest, trial, and conviction of violators of the marijuana ban aim at instilling fear in the power of the capitalist government over the personal lives of individuals. The laws are selectively enforced against the young, the minorities, the poor, and political radicals.

If elected, I will support the legalization of marijuana by the U.S. government.

Calendar

BOSTON

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Sunday night at 7 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station).

VOICES OF DISSENT. Linda Jenness Speaks on Latin America. Wed., June 28, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., July 1, 6 p.m., on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

BROOKLYN

PRINCIPLES OF LENINIST PARTY ORGANIZATION. Socialist Summer School: Weekly series of classes. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). 50c per class. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

Tues., June 27: Origins of American Trotskyism. Class at 8 p.m. Dinner served at 7 p.m.

Wed., June 28: Building American Trotskyism. Class at 8 p.m. Dinner served at 7 p.m.

CHICAGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - COMMUNIST PARTY DEBATE. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, and Jack Kling, chairman of Illinois Communist Party. Sun., July 2, 6-7 p.m. on WGN-TV, Channel 9.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Chicago Socialist Summer School. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Pre-registration fee, including all classes and special weekend events, \$8. Individual sessions, 50c. Special weekend sessions, \$1. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes every Tuesday and Thursday, 7:30-9:30 p.m., June 6-July 27. All sessions in the University Center at the University of Houston. Information and class schedules at Pathfinder Bookstore, 6409 Lyons Ave. Classes include: The Materialist Conception of History, The Role of the Individual in History, Marxian Economics, The Communist Manifesto, The Transitional Program, and The Popular Front vs. the United Front. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

LOS ANGELES

THE PHILIPPINES TODAY: A VISITOR'S IMPRESSION. Speaker: E. Medard, screenwriter and socialist, recently returned from 3-month trip to Asia. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

BUILDING A LENINIST PARTY IN AMERICA. A series of classes sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. 50c per class or \$6 for entire summer school. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.). For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., June 28: The Downfall of the Communist International. Teacher: Dan Rosenshine.

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND: THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM.

FORUM. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m.: The Wobblies, Debs, and Lenin. Speaker: Peter Seidman, New York Local organizer of SWP. Dinner served at 6 p.m.

CLASSES. Sat., July 1, 11 a.m.: The Left Opposition in America. Lunch at 1 p.m. 2 p.m.: Revolutionaries as Labor Leaders.

Sun., July 2, 1 p.m.: New Party and New International. Teacher for all weekend classes: Peter Seidman. Picnic at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

STUDIES IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. Socialist Summer School. Weekly series of classes until Aug. 9. 2744 Broadway (106 St.). 50c per class or \$5 for entire series, including special weekend classes. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., June 28, 8 p.m.: Origins of American Radicalism: Debs, IWW, and the founding of the Communist Party USA Speaker: Peter Seidman.

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND

FORUM. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m.: Is Chile Building Socialism? Speaker: Ed Shaw, Socialist Workers Party national committee member.

CLASSES. Sat., July 1, 10:30 a.m.: The United Front. 1:30 p.m.: United Front vs. Popular Front. Teacher: Les Evans, editor, International Socialist Review. 75c for both classes.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Featured speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Sat., July 1. Dinner: 7:30 p.m. Program: 9 p.m. The Rainbow Sign, Berkeley. For more information, call 654-9728.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featured speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Fri., June 30. 1004 Filbert St. 7 p.m.: refreshments. 8 p.m.: rally. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

LINDA JENNESS SPEAKS ON ELECTORAL POLITICS AND MASS ACTION. Wed., June 28 at 3:30 p.m. Drexel University, Room 217, Drexel Activities Center.

LINDA JENNESS SPEAKS ON HER LATIN AMERICA TOUR. Wed., June 28 at 8 p.m. International House, 3701 Chestnut St.

PORTRLAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 201. Admission: \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

Thurs., June 29, 7 p.m.: The Russian Revolution. Teacher: Peter Graumann.

SAN FRANCISCO

A REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY OF DEFENSE. A discussion of how an effective political defense contributes to making a revolution. Fri., June 30. 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. 57.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. Telephone: (612) 332-7781.

Thurs., June 29: The Youth Radicalization and the Communist Party. Teacher: Greg Guckenborg.

SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND

FORUM. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m.: A Marxist Strategy for the Labor Movement. Speaker: Frank Lovell, SWP trade-union director. Open house to follow.

CLASSES. Sat., July 1, 2 p.m.: Two Key Demands: The Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours; the Labor Party. Teacher: Frank Lovell. Followed by softball game. 7 p.m.: Basic Outlines of the Present Trade Union Policy of the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Frank Lovell.

Sun., July 2, 11 a.m.: The Teamster Rebellion in Minneapolis. Teacher: Frank Lovell. 2 p.m.: Picnic Meet at 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Socialist Summer School.

746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. 75c per class, \$10 for entire summer school. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

CLASS. Wed., June 28, 8 p.m.: Stalinism. Teacher: Herman Fagg.

FORUM. Fri., June 30, 8 p.m.: Wilhelm Reich's Sexual Revolution.

PICNIC. Sun., July 2. For time and place, call (202) 783-2363.

...review

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world should wait for the advanced capitalist countries before trying to take the road to socialism. But even in the advanced capitalist countries he feels it is best to tread lightly lest unnecessary conflicts develop.

In discussing Britain's monetary crisis under the Labour Party government by Harold Wilson, Harrington admits that the Labour Party followed policies "not unlike" those of the Tories who are now in power. Wilson's austerity program was designed to make the British working class pay for the bettering of the competitive position of British capital on the world market.

But, Harrington maintains, "if socialist capitalism as proposed by the European social democrats is thus inadequate to the times, that does not in the least mean that these parties are irrelevant." He argues that due to the reforms they have instituted, "even if the worst fears expressed in this book—that the socialist vision has been abandoned—were to be confirmed, these parties would still command my loyalty."

Harrington proposes a program of "structural reforms" that would lead to a gradual evolution to socialism. He offers no suggestion on how the resistance of the capitalists is to be overcome. The implication is that they will allow their wealth and power to be gradually stripped away without a fight.

How are reforms to be won in the U.S.? Harrington opposes the concept of uniting the working class and its allies in massive movements fighting around specific issues. Such a course would entail uniting with revolutionaries, whom he calls "totalitarians." No, Harrington prefers subordinating the working class to the rulers of the American empire in the Democratic Party. "Structural reforms" in his view must begin with the defeat of Nixon in 1972.

One searches in vain for concepts of genuine internationalism, the role

social struggles play in the radicalization of masses of American people, and the need for revolutionary leadership in the struggle for socialism. The failure to even mention the women's liberation movement, the nationalist consciousness of Blacks and Chicanos, or the antiwar movement contrasts sharply to his long apologia for the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy and his support to the Democratic Party.

In what is perhaps the understatement of the year, Harrington says, "European social democracy has not yet solved the problems that led it to betray Marxist principals more than half a century ago." Those interested in solving these problems will not find the answers in Harrington's book.

...labor

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ficials spoke at them and helped build them, there was no organized participation from the LLAP or the SANE trade unionists.

Furthermore, as the 1968 elections approached, most of the people associated with SANE and the LLAP turned to Democratic Party electoral activity. They lost interest in maintaining an antiwar organization, and the groups disintegrated.

The history of the Vietnam war has made it clear that the American people cannot trust the promises of Democratic or Republican party politicians to end this war. Both Johnson and Nixon were elected as "peace candidates" and then proceeded to continue making war. As the 1972 elections approach, the antiwar movement must remain independent and in the streets if it is to have its greatest impact. It must maintain pressure on *all* candidates.

Hopefully, the participants in the Labor for Peace conference will not make the same error as the SANE trade unionists and the LLAP. Labor for Peace can make the biggest contribution to forcing an end to this war if it adopts a perspective of mobilizing working people in independent action against the war.

Participants in this conference will also be able to attend the national antiwar conference called by the National Peace Action Coalition for Los Angeles on July 21-23. This will make possible the fullest cooperation between antiwar forces and will facilitate the exchange of ideas for future actions.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Ratner, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: (213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat, 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

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DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

Macomb: YSA, c/o Lynn Lloyd, 809 Corbin, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Gary: c/o Cartwright, 123 W. Indiana, Chesterton, Ind. 46304.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

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THE MILITANT

Labor for Peace conference

Trade unionists and fight to end the war

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Labor for Peace conference scheduled for June 23 and 24 in St. Louis may be the largest antiwar conference of trade unionists to date. The gathering is sponsored by officials from more than 20 unions, including some of the major figures in the U.S. labor movement.

This conference comes at a time when more and more unionists have become involved in antiwar activities. On June 1, for example, the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union voted to link their strike for higher pay to a demand for an end to the war in order to free funds for education.

Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, spoke at the May 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. He was the first member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council ever to speak at an antiwar action. In addition, New York trade unions provided 600,000 leaflets to help build the demonstration.

The state convention of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers voted at the end of April for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. The "war, not wages," they stated in their resolution, is "the major cause of spiraling inflation."

Growing antiwar sentiment among

working people, coupled with the impact of the antiwar movement as a whole, have created a new climate within the unions. It is now possible to challenge the prowar positions of the majority of top AFL-CIO leaders. The Labor for Peace conference is being organized in opposition to the positions taken by George Meany, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, and other top officials.

The AFL-CIO's formal position on the war remains what it was in 1965: complete support for the U.S. war policy in Indochina. At the 1965 San Francisco convention of the AFL-CIO, Meany's response to a group of young antiwar demonstrators in the convention auditorium was to call on his goons to "throw the kooks out."

AFL-CIO support to the war was more than verbal. In January 1966 the *AFL-CIO News* reported on the aid given the U.S. government and its henchmen in Saigon by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The ILA sent four men and its president, Thomas Gleason, to Saigon at its own expense to help organize a new and more efficient cargo-handling system to supply the counterrevolutionary armies in Vietnam.

By 1966, however, signs of criticism began to appear within the unions. The United Automobile Work-

ers (UAW) had earlier criticized the AFL-CIO statement on the war as "intemperate, hysterical, [and] jingoistic." In February 1966, the general executive board of the 380,000-member Amalgamated Clothing Workers union also dissented from the AFL-CIO position.

In the fall of 1966, the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted to reiterate its support of U.S. foreign policy and to "commend" Johnson on his handling of the war. In response, the Trade Union Division of SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) called a meeting in November that drew 250 union officials from 31 unions in the New York-New Jersey area. The meeting issued a statement criticizing the AFL-CIO position on the Vietnam war and calling for "deescalation."

The group organized similar meetings in other cities that fall and winter. In December, a meeting in Chicago drew more than 350 unionists, mainly lower-ranking officials. A meeting in January 1967 in Los Angeles drew 150 unionists.

These meetings called for an end to U.S. bombing in Vietnam and for a negotiated settlement to the war, although by this time the main demand of the antiwar movement was for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops. The California Federation of Teachers and the Amal-

gamated Meat Cutters in Cleveland had already gone on record for the withdrawal position by early 1967.

In September 1967 the Trade Union Division of SANE issued a call for a "National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace," to be held November 11-12 in Chicago. Signers of the call included Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; and Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers.

More than 500 union officials from 50 international unions and 38 states attended the conference. They included more than 50 top officers and executive board members of international unions. Again, the conference came out for a bombing halt and negotiations between the U.S. and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

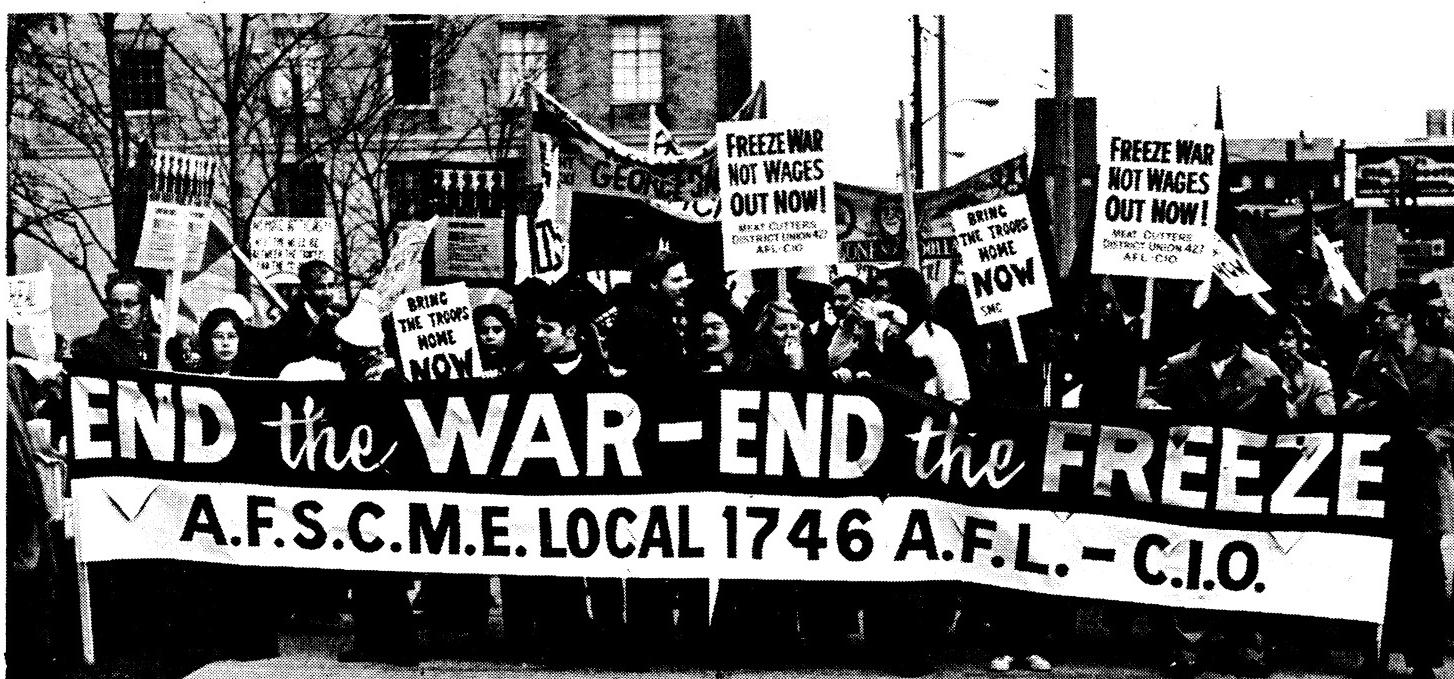
Following this conference the Labor Leadership Alliance for Peace (LLAP) engaged in no further major action. It put out an issue or two of a monthly magazine, *Labor Voice for Peace*, and organized some local meetings, but it soon disappeared.

This experience, however, contains some valuable lessons for antiwar trade unionists.

One important factor in the demise of the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace and the Trade Union Division of SANE was their failure to mobilize unionists in action against the war. They projected no demonstrations, picket lines, mass protest meetings, antiwar petition drives. They organized no actions that could involve the many rank-and-file trade unionists opposed to the war. In addition, these organizations from the beginning restricted their meetings to trade-union officials, giving the rank-and-file no voice in determining what should be done.

The orientation of these groups away from rank-and-file protest action was reflected in their lack of organized support for the massive demonstrations called by the general antiwar movement. On April 15, 1967, on October 21, 1967, and on April 27, 1968, demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of Americans took place. Although trade unionists marched in these actions and individual labor of-

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Labor contingent in Cleveland Nov. 6, 1971, antiwar demonstration.

Gov't takeover is threat to miners union

By FRANK LOVELL

Five hundred coal miners from 15 of the 24 districts of the United Mine Workers (UMW) went to the Miners For Democracy (MFD) convention in Wheeling, W.Va., May 27-28. They planned to nominate a slate of candidates to represent them in the government-ordered UMW election to be held this December.

They didn't know, however, what the courts had in store for the conduct of that election. Had they known, most would undoubtedly have welcomed the latest court ruling. But the powers granted to the Department of Labor by this ruling will be used to hinder—not help—the miners regain control over their own union.

On June 16, William Benson Bryant, a federal district court judge in Washington, D.C., issued one of the

most sweeping orders governing the conduct of union affairs ever handed down by any court in this country. Judge Bryant granted representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor the authority to oversee all financial transactions by any or all of the 1,300 UMW locals.

His order also allows the Miners for Democracy or others to have representatives wherever the Labor Department representatives are authorized to go. But only the government agents will be paid from UMW funds.

All candidates and nominees must file monthly expenditures statements and list the names of all donors and the size of contributions.

All international and district officers and employees of the union are forbidden to contribute money to any candidate or nominee for the December election.

Each employee of the union must file a bimonthly report with the Department of Labor "reporting his activities and accounting for his time and expenses."

The *United Mine Workers Journal*, an official union publication, is ordered to give equal space to all candidates.

Implicit in all provisions of the court order is the assumption that the government must intercede to "protect the interests of union members" when union officials violate the trust of the union membership. It is assumed that the union exists as a social institution separate and apart from the membership.

The court order denies that the UMW belongs to the miners, was built by workers in struggle against the mine owners and their government, and has no other legitimate reason

for existing except as a worker-controlled organization to defend workers' interests. The court, under the guise of "protection," is trying to take advantage of the misleadership of the Boyle administration to impose government controls on the miners' union.

The government controls will not satisfy any of the basic needs of the miners for better health and safety conditions, shorter hours of work, full employment, and adequate wages to meet the rising cost of living.

The government will support the employers on every crucial issue affecting the lives of miners, as the history of the mine industry proves. The government will continue to promote the fortunes of union officials most willing to collaborate with the employers at the expense of the miners. Government intervention in the affairs of

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